Framing The Citizen:
Constructing Citizenship in Early Twentieth-Century Anglo-American Literary and Social Discourse

SARAH A. EVERETT

A dissertation submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
in partial fulfillment of requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Graduate Programme in English
York University
Toronto, Ontario

May 2019

Abstract

The first decades of the twentieth century leading up to World War II were a time of profound demographic transformation in Great Britain and America, a time when many people—writers and artists included—began questioning the principles upon which their so-called "democratic" nations were built. It was also a time when governments began forging certain understandings of citizenship that benefitted the national interest. This dissertation analyzes a diverse group of politically engaged, Anglo-American, Modernist writers of fiction, poetry, prose, non-fiction, and social documentary, all of whom contested the ways in which, during this period, the concept of the citizen was being framed in national, legal, and socio-political discourse. Among the works examined are: Conrad's *The Secret Agent* (1907); Joyce's *Ulysses* (1922); Henry James's *The Ambassadors* (1903) and *The American Scene* (1905); poet Mina Loy's "Anglo-Mongrels and the Rose" (1923); Virginia Woolf's *The Years* (1937); Auden's (selected poems of the 1930s); Richard Wright's *Native Son* (1940); as well as writer/journalist James Agee and documentary photographer Walker Evans's *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men* (1941).

Pericles Lewis has characterized the period as a time of crisis—a "crisis of representation." For Modernist writers the crisis was not only political, it involved a crisis of representation in the aesthetic sense—an apparent collapse of faith in conventional artistic means of representing a world that had drastically changed. This dissertation maps political modernism against/alongside cultural/literary Modernism to advance the argument that the concurrent crises of representation were not merely coincidental but rather correlative in deep and complex ways. It proposes that these writers' highly innovative aesthetic projects were inextricably intertwined with their respective projects to dismantle seemingly dangerous and deceptive, politically motivated arguments about nationalism and citizenship.

Grounded in the critical theories of Michel Foucault and his investigations of power, this dissertation interrogates the agendas and mechanisms by which the "received knowledge" of a society comes to be produced. Close readings of the literary texts show how Modernist writers absorb, narrativize, and attempt to disrupt these discursive processes. Throughout, the question of art's influence and relationship to power is a central concern.

Acknowledgements

Although family and career took my life in other wonderful directions, I always hoped I would have the opportunity to return to university to complete a doctorate in English literature. I have now been lucky enough to undertake that remarkable journey—a journey that has opened my eyes, trained me to think more critically, and given me an illuminating glimpse into the perspectives of others. I have some very special people to thank.

First and foremost, for her kindness, for the inestimable generosity of her time and energy, and her unwavering belief in the importance of this project, I am deeply grateful to my supervisor, mentor, and guide, Lesley Higgins. Her cogent and constructive criticism have challenged me intellectually and helped shape my work. The breadth of her knowledge and expertise is astounding. Her excellent, seemingly simple, subtle, editorial suggestions have shown me how to bring a narrative alive. Most importantly, Lesley shares my love of the emotional power of language and the music of poetry. Her enthusiasm is contagious.

I have also have been extremely blessed with having Leslie Sanders and Arthur Redding on my committee. Both have been wise and thoughtful. Art has provided vital insights that have expanded my thinking and Leslie has consistently challenged me to consider the definition of the citizen, not only in its legal, but also in its human and more humane contexts.

Throughout the writing process, I have felt particularly privileged to engage with the extraordinary group of writers, poets, photographers, critics, theorists, and social documentarians whose works are the subject of this dissertation. I have gained immeasurably from their varied, profoundly nuanced, and often prescient perceptions of the world. Returning to their texts, time and time again, I find the beauty of their art takes my breath away.

My family has been my great and sustaining influence. From my parents—who always refused the presuppositions and prejudices of their day—I inherited a passion for art and politics that animates my work. My children, Kaitlin and Christopher, inspire me every day. I am in awe of their spirit, their strong-mindedness, and the tenacity they continually demonstrate in the face of obstacles they have encountered in their young lives. I will be forever thankful to them and to my long-time partner-in-life, Don, the person whose quiet and steady love keeps me centred while always giving me unqualified freedom, support, and encouragement to pursue my dreams.

Table of Contents

List of Abbreviations

James Agee and Walker Evans

FM	*Let Us Now Praise Famous Men*

W. H. Auden

SP	*Selected Poems: Expanded Edition*
SPN	*Selected Poems: New Edition*

Joseph Conrad

AN	"Author's Note"
CL	*Collected Letters*
SA	*The Secret Agent*

Michel Foucault

AK	*Archaeology of Knowledge*
DP	*Discipline and Punish*
HN	"Human Nature"
HS	*History of Sexuality*
IPR	*I, Pierre Rivière*
PK	*Power/Knowledge*
SP	"The Subject and Power"
STP	*Security, Territory, Population*
TL	"Two Lectures"
OT	*The Order of Things*

James Joyce

CW	*Critical Writings*
LJ	*Letters*
U	*Ulysses*

Henry James

AF	"The Art of Fiction"
LHJ	*Letter of Henry James*
TA	*The Ambassadors*
TAS	*The American Scene*
TQS	"The Question of our Speech"

Mina Loy

AM	"Anglo-Mongrels and the Rose"
FM	"Feminist Manifesto"
IPD	″International Psycho-Democracy″
LAS	*The Last Lunar Baedeker*
LOS	*The Lost Lunar Baedeker*

Virginia Woolf

AP	"The Artist and Politics"
BB	"Mr. Bennett and Mrs. Brown"
D	*The Diary of Virginia Woolf*
E	*The Essays of Virginia Woolf*
L	*The Letters of Virginia Woolf*
LT	"The Leaning Tower"
LYP	"A Letter to a Young Poet"
TG	*Three Guineas*
TP	*The Pargiters: The Novel-Essay Portion of 'The Years'*
TY	*The Years*

Richard Wright

HB	"How 'Bigger' Was Born"
NS	*Native Son*

Introduction

In 1915, Albert Venn Dicey (1835–1922), British jurist, constitutional theorist, and Oxford law professor, penned a new Introduction to the eighth edition of his celebrated textbook *The Law of the Constitution*, first published in 1885. In *The Law of the Constitution*, Dicey had endeavoured to set out the general principles that were the foundation of the uncodified British constitution. One of Dicey's prime objectives in revising the Introduction was to analyze a number of constitutional ideas which, in 1915, he claimed were "new," either because "they [had] come into existence during the last thirty years" or, more importantly, because "they [had] in England during that period begun to exert a new and noticeable influence" (4). Specifically, Dicey identified the emergence of four radical proposals: (i) the demand for women's suffrage; (ii) the argument in favour of a move to proportional representation in the British House of Commons; (iii) the case for "federalism" (a federal as opposed to a unitary constitution) as a new means of "uniting the widely scattered countries which make up the British Empire" involving, in particular, the controversial question of Home Rule in Ireland (41); and (iv) the proposition for introducing a referendum (or "People's Veto") which would mean that Bills, even when passed by both the House of Commons and the House of Lords, "would not become Acts of Parliament until they received the sanction or approval of the majority of electors voting on the matter" (51). The first three proposals Dicey opposed, based largely on the belief that these moves would disturb the existing delicate balances of power within the British system of government; while on the other hand he found favour with the concept of the referendum which, by ensuring all Acts of Parliament had the sanction of the electors, "would curb the absolutism of a party possessed of a parliamentary majority" (54).

In a similar vein, in 1923, on the other side of the Atlantic, John W. Burgess (1844–1931), influential constitutional theorist, Columbia University professor, and Doctor of Law, widely considered one of the founders of American political science, published a book entitled *Recent Changes in American Constitutional Theory*. In it Burgess traces what he deems to be radical developments and social transformations affecting the direction of constitutional law in the United States during the period 1898 through 1920. The 1898 Spanish-American War, Burgess maintains, "was the turning point in our political and constitutional history" (3). Up until that date, the main principle of the American political system was the doctrine of individual immunity against government power. The American Bill of Rights, embedded in the Constitution, guaranteed liberty (to white men) in respect of an individual's property, physical person, thought, and expression. Burgess, however, points to a series of political and legal measures taken in the early 1900s, fostered by an increased spirit of militarism in foreign policy and a growing trend towards social paternalism in domestic affairs, that combined to trigger what he viewed as an alarming expansion of government power at the expense of basic individual liberties.

Taken together, these "new ideas" signalled the slow but seismological shifts that were occurring, in both Britain and America, at the beginning of the twentieth century in respect to people's attitudes toward the fundamental principles that constituted the laws under which they granted their consent to be governed. Profound social transformations were at the core of the new constitutional ideas which Dicey and Burgess identified. Before 1914, political upheaval, economic change, and vast movements of people were causing new and widespread demands for expansion of the franchise and for a more democratic approach to government. Power at that time was still the almost exclusive province of wealthy, white men who had strong vested interests in preserving the status quo. In their writings, both Dicey and Burgess by and large adopted the orthodox or conservative stance typical of the

respective British and American legal discourses of their day. In doing so, they reiterated the terms of an intense public debate underway concerning the nature of "citizenship"—a debate that was to pit individual rights against those of the collective; human rights against legal rights; and more egalitarian imaginings of citizenship and belonging against traditional assumptions of birthright citizenship and hereditary prerogative.

Dicey and Burgess, however, were not alone in recognizing the fundamental shifts in public consciousness that were occurring at this time. Writers, artists, and musicians were among the earliest harbingers of change in cultural rather than legal circles. Signs of multiple breaks with convention were vividly on display in the first exhibit of Post-Impressionist paintings which rocked the London art establishment in 1910;[1] in the New York Armory Show of 1913, the first large exhibition of modern art in America;[2] and in Igor Stravinsky's controversial score for *The Rite of Spring*, which, when first performed by Sergei Diaghilev's company, the *Ballets Russe,* in Paris in 1913, caused near-riots in the audience.[3] In America, a growing sense of energy and unrest was also felt in the jagged rhythms of the new "ragtime" music and in the visceral, cathartic, and emotional sounds of the "Blues." Both forms of expression anticipated the later popularity of "jazz," which with its improvised, syncopated polyrhythms and flattened notes reflected a more politically assertive and self-confident conception of African American identity and racial pride.

A number of Modernist writers were at the forefront of capturing and articulating the new politically charged spirit of their times. Many grappled with the way in which legal and political discourse had constructed the concepts of the "citizen" and "citizenship," including their ethical foundations, their evolving interpretations, and their just application. Focusing on the period emerging at the turn of the century and spanning the next four decades, this dissertation traces and analyzes the responses of a number of prominent Anglo-American literary figures.

Following the evolution of the concept of the "citizen" in the modern liberal-democratic context of the "nation," it examines these writers' attempts to articulate an ethical basis for citizenship in its wider contexts. Specifically, it deals with the alternate way in which the literary figure of the "citizen" develops in relation to its construction in legal and public discourse at this particular historical juncture, which was characterized by mass foreign immigration, the shift from apparently homogeneous to heterogeneous societies in urban centres, the rise of nationalism, and changing government immigration and citizenship policies in England and the U.S.A.

This study does not attempt a seamless or comprehensive account of the period. Rather, it focuses on a selection of politically engaged writers who grappled with these issues in their literary texts, their essays, speeches, lectures, manifestos, diaries, and their cultural critiques. The authors include such well-known figures as Joseph Conrad, James Joyce, Henry James, Virginia Woolf, and W. H. Auden, as well as Mina Loy, Richard Wright, and writer and journalist James Agee, who partnered with documentary photographer Walker Evans in the United States. Personal experience of alienation or dislocation was critical to the perspective of most of these writers. Each was deeply influenced by the cultural context in which she or he was writing, and each, in one way or another, saw her- or himself as an "outsider." As such, each was propelled to critique the nature of citizenship, to examine the constitutional principles underlying the law and legislative authority, to question the meaning of democracy and representative government as these terms had come to be defined, and often to expose the hegemonic manner in which the dominant forces of their respective nations had legally and politically framed the matter of citizenship rights and privileges.

All of these writers brought transnational perspectives to their work and all engaged with the question of how citizenship ought to be defined in a modern

democracy. Their agendas varied and their views covered the range of the political spectrum: for some, the commitment was to exposing the profound risks associated with some of the new constitutional ideas that were being floated; others questioned the very notion of the "nation" and those who "belong" to it. For most, the project was to tap into a changing public consensus in order to challenge and often subvert the prevailing discourses of their day. The literary campaigns of each of these writers target the ideological bases upon which nations are built. Their aesthetic projects explore the way in which power works and continually evolves to fortify the national interest, which is inevitably determined by the dominant race and ruling political class. The question of art's influence and relationship to power is central to these writers' concerns.

Citizenship is a highly charged political and ideological concept, one that can be inflected with diverse interpretations, inferences, and implications. Its meaning has been the subject of seemingly endless disputes across a variety of disciplines. The kinds of rhetoric used to frame discussions of its substance, scope, proper context, moral foundation, and significance can be analyzed as instruments for entrenching or revolutionizing a particular worldview. Disagreements over the meaning of the word "citizenship" have historically posed some of the most important challenges to the dominant social order, contestations that have far-reaching repercussions in human and social terms. At their crux, these debates are a form of struggle, the aim of which is to alter power relations.

Strictly speaking, the definition of a "citizen" is a legal one denoting the formal status of an individual in the political context of a nation or commonwealth. Only nation-states have the legislative power to grant or deny citizenship. Legal definitions, however, often tend to obscure the deeper challenges a concept poses. As James Joyce implies in *Ulysses*, the very concept of the "nation" is tricky. Cross-examined as to the meaning of the word, Leopold Bloom offers the following

seemingly contradictory explanation: "A nation is the same people living in the same place ... [o]r also living in different places" (*U* 430). Bloom's indecisive answer raises the question: is a nation more than just a bounded territory? Where do its borders begin and end? In his influential 1991 text *Imagined Communities*, political theorist Benedict Anderson proffers the following definition of a nation: "it is an imagined political community ... imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign.... It is *imagined* because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow members, meet them or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion" (6). Yet, if a nation constitutes a sovereign state or community of people to whom certain rights, privileges, and responsibilities are accorded, are not the borders of that so-called "nation" or "community" constantly in flux? To what extent are "sameness," resemblance, common ethnicity, or shared history required to create and maintain "national" bonds? In *Cultural Geography,* Don Mitchell contests and extends Anderson's thinking, arguing that attention must also be paid to "the *practices* and exercises of power through which the bonds [of "imagined communities"] are produced and reproduced.... [W]ho defines the nation, how is it defined ... and crucially, how has the nation developed and changed over time[?]... The question is not what common imagination *exists*, but what common imagination is *forged*" (269, emphasis mine).

As legal theorist Linda Bosniak has observed, "boundary-focused citizenship is understood to denote not only community belonging but also community exclusivity and closure" (2). In the context of transnational migration and a world of porous borders, where, as she points out, "foreigners enter the bounded national territory from the outside and, once present, are assigned the status of alienage, they remain outsiders in a significant sense: the border effectively follows them inside" (4). The seeming arbitrary nature of borders raises, once again, the larger issue of power and calls into scrutiny the ethical basis of law. Who formulates the law and under whose

jurisdiction do interpretation and enforcement fall? Bosniak notes that, "Citizenship as an ideal is understood to embody a commitment against subordination, but citizenship can also represent an axis of subordination itself" (1). What importance is attached, or should be attached, to those first principles that inform the law, those fundamental values that a democratic society deems integral to the exercise of freedom and justice? Echoing William H. Seward, U.S. Secretary of State to Abraham Lincoln, scholar Gregg D. Crane asks to what extent should "a society's moral consensus delimit the scope and effect of its laws" (13)? Bosniak has observed that "citizenship's long association with egalitarian and democratic ideals in at least some of its understandings make it a powerful term of progressive political rhetoric." It is this aspect of citizenship, she concludes, "that has led to the many ongoing efforts to reshape and extend the term to new subjects and new domains" (35). This study contends that Modernist writers in Britain and the United States were among the first, through their texts, to attempt to articulate the changing spirit of their times, to interrogate the concepts of the "citizen" and "citizenship rights," and to formulate many of the key issues around which debates on the problem of human co-existence continue to revolve.

Grounded in literary, legal, and socio-political discourse analysis, the work this dissertation undertakes relies primarily on the theories of Michel Foucault (1926–1984). Focusing on his investigations of the "power-knowledge complex," it examines the mechanisms by which the "received knowledge" of a society comes to be produced. Foucault exposes the constructed nature of all "truth," the way in which knowledge works in the interest of particular groups in society, and the intricate web of social institutions, instruments, practices, and prohibitions that keep this knowledge constantly in circulation, continually re-asserting and re-affirming existing power relations. Foucault's project involves making these connections visible. In analyzing the various discourses of any society, Foucault insists on examining, first, from whose perspective

"accepted" or "erudite" knowledges come to be produced, and secondly, which group or groups have a vested interest in controlling the way in which different aspects of reality come to be perceived and understood. Answers to these questions begin to reveal how language and discourse work in conjunction with the social, political, and cultural institutions of the day to reinforce the dominant ideology and establish, maintain, and police existing social hierarchies.

Foucault's work also challenges the humanistic belief that people's subjectivities define concepts such as "the citizen" and the "nation." It posits the rather distinct notions that human identity itself is a construct of power, and that subjectivities are a tension between agency and subjugation, shaped by spaces, places, discourses, and labels such as "citizen" and "outsider." While Foucault's theories are grounded in social constructionist (as opposed to essentialist) ideas, political theorist Jonathan Gaventa has argued (contrary to some interpretations) that Foucault still believed in possibilities for action and resistance. Gaventa suggests that Foucault's concepts of agency are concerned with the ability to recognize and question socialized norms and constraints. Foucault states that, "'Truth' is to be understood as a system of ordered procedures for the production, regulation, distribution, circulation and operation of [knowledge]." As he goes on to explain, "[t]he essential political problem for the intellectual is ... that of ascertaining the possibility of constituting a new politics of truth. The problem is not changing people's consciousnesses ... but the political, economic, institutional regime of the production of truth" (qtd. Rabinow 1991:75). As Gaventa summarizes, "[d]iscourse can be a site of both power and resistance, with scope to 'evade, subvert or contest strategies of power'" (2003:3).

Foucault's work is transdisciplinary in nature, ranging across branches of knowledge including history, art, politics, philosophy, sociology, the law, science, and medicine. His theories have had considerable impact on twentieth and twenty-first century thought. Foucault's analyses of power have provided an influential intellectual

foundation for the academic study of multiple institutions, practices, and social discourses, which inform and regulate Western political culture. His work has also become a major source for the examination of the institutional bases from which writers and critics in a number of different fields operate. Foucault's theories can be (and certainly have been) usefully applied to the work of many Modernist writers. In the context of this dissertation, they specifically help illuminate the underlying structures of legal and nationalist discourse and counter-discourse in the particular works that form the central focus of this study. The application of Foucault's theories to an analysis of socio-political discourse produced between the turn of the century and the beginning of World War II provides a new perspective from which to understand more fully the issues of citizenship and human belonging as these concepts are problematized in the literary texts.

Debates surrounding citizenship necessarily engage with legal and modern political theories of nationalism. Drawing on the thinking of such influential theorists as Ernest Renan, Ernest Gellner, Eric Hobswam, Adrian Hastings, and Benedict Anderson, the present study follows the lead of the so-called *recent* school of nationalism. Importantly, it understands the concept of the nation as an entirely modern construct, focusing on why and how the idea of the nation developed. In *Nations and Nationalisms since 1780*, Eric Hobswam, following Gellner, defines "nationalism" to mean, primarily, a principle which holds that the political and national unit should be congruent (1). Hobswam notes that the nineteenth-century view of nationalism, in which ethnic and linguistic groupings formed the basis of national community also, in large part, formed the basis for decisions made by the Allied victors post World War I when they carved out the new borders of Europe and established the League of Nations to protect the populations of the new nations they created at the Paris peace talks in 1919. If "citizenship" is presumed to be "a national enterprise—a set of institutions and practices that necessarily take place within the political community, or the social world, of the

nation-state" (Bosniak 23), then "nationalism" built along the lines of shared history and homogeneity of race, descent, language, and ethnicity will always tend, as Gregg Crane has observed, "to confine the terms of justice to those who resemble the nation's ... majority" (5).

Such a construction of nationalism has been contested by several Modernist writers including Virginia Woolf and poets Mina Loy and W. H. Auden. From the perspective of the state, citizenship involves identifying who its citizens should be, categorizing them, and defining their collective rights and responsibilities. Woolf's writing and Loy's poetry move in cosmopolitan directions. They resist altogether the imposition of a strictly nationalist definition of citizenship. Auden's work poses a challenge to the gendered and class-based foundations of liberal polity and questions what happens when a state starts to impose labels and see individual citizens merely in statistical terms, as part of a population that must be managed and controlled in the larger interest of the health of the nation. Writers like Woolf, Loy, and Auden embody a literary discourse that, in Gregg Crane's words, "ascribe[s] the discovery of justice to our ability to cross boundaries of identity, ... to transcend the provincialisms of sect, tribe, and nation ... which ability, in turn, enables consensual political and social association among diverse peoples." (1-2, 8).

Since the late 1980s, numerous critics have turned their attention to what had previously been perceived as a blind-spot in Modernist criticism—the consideration of various minority groups portrayed in Modernist literature, the re-assessment of Modernist writers who were members of these different communities, and the re-examination of their engagement with issues of subjugation as a result of race, class, gender or ethnicity. All of the writers whose works are examined here have been widely critiqued in these contexts. Most have also been analyzed in terms of their political engagements and ethical investments in questions of democratic belonging. Yet, there has been no sustained study of how the figure of the "citizen"

develops in Anglo-American Modernist literature in contrast to its construction in socio-political discourse and citizenship law, particularly across continents and across the work of a variety of writers of fiction, poetry, prose non-fiction, and social documentary. The writers chosen for this study represent a range of perspectives. All bring cosmopolitan sensibilities, uncommon imaginations, and innovative aesthetic practices and principles to their respective projects. All employ literary form and language in vividly new and powerful ways in their attempts to respond to and re-shape the debate, to resist, re-conceptualize, and revise the terms of political consensus in a democratic community.

To begin the discussion, one must ask what drove the unprecedented demands for political and constitutional reform at this particular historical time? As Dicey had observed, the Victorian era, paradoxically, had been an "age full of intellectual activity and achievement; ... an age rich in works of imagination and science; ... an age which extended in every direction the field of historical knowledge; but it was an age which added little to the world's scanty store of political or constitutional ideas" (451). By the end of the first decade of the twentieth century, all that had begun to change.

The first half of the twentieth century was a period riven by ideological conflicts, territorial divisions, and the cataclysm of two world wars. Mass migration provoked by ethnic, economic, racist, and imperialist antagonisms transformed the national landscapes of both Britain and America. Between 1900 and 1914, unprecedented numbers of poverty-stricken Russian and eastern and central European Jews fleeing persecution in their homelands settled in the United Kingdom (Plender 74). Joseph Conrad's 1907 novel, *The Secret Agent,* deals with the problem of the isolation and growing alienation of these groups in British society. Mounting agitation in Britain had led to the passage of the *Aliens Act* of 1905, which restricted immigration into Britain from areas outside the British Empire. It was subsequently followed by the much more

stringent *British Nationality and Status of Aliens Act* of 1914, which gave the government enormous power to control the movement of "aliens," not only across, but within its borders. This Act was followed in turn by the *Aliens Restriction (Amendment) Act* of 1919, which virtually ended Jewish immigration to Britain until the 1930s. As Janice Ho has pointed out, Conrad's work also explores "the biopolitical rationalities of eugenics, degeneracy, and social hygiene that go into producing anthropological distinctions between valued citizens and valueless non-citizens" ("The Human and the Citizen" 122).

George Dangerfield's influential 1935 account of the period, entitled *The Strange Death of Liberal England,* chronicles the emergence of a rebellious spirit of unrest which by 1910 had begun to take hold: a "new energy," an "unconscious desire for change" which "came hurtling up from the soul of the people" (248). The restlessness surfaced in several forms: the campaign for women's suffrage, leaders of which advocated widespread civil disorder and disgraced the legal system's desperate efforts to contain it; the unprecedented surge in labour strikes fuelled by workers' demands for a guaranteed minimum wage; the escalation of bitter partisan strife in Parliament that culminated in a drastic reduction of hereditary power in the upper chamber; and the demand by Irish nationalists for Home Rule, which brought the country to the brink of civil war and caused a mutiny by the British army.[4] It was Dangerfield's thesis that the causes of the unrest were neither purely economic nor purely political; but rather that they could be traced, at least in part, to psychological factors which he characterized as "an unconscious rejection of established security" (122), that "smothering security which was the essence of Victorian respectability" (194) located in the "cautious phrase," the "respectable gesture," the "considered display of reasonable emotions," and "the untangled stars of accepted behaviour" (122-3). The discontent expressed itself in the rejection of the ease, the complacency, and the pieties of liberal England. For Dangerfield, the challenging of the status quo marked the "death of an attitude" (121), an attitude of respect for

tradition and the rule of law, for the majesty of Parliament, and the processes of so-called democratic government. Ultimately, he contends, the turbulence of these rebellions imposed intolerable strains on the very idea of liberalism itself.

Similar pressure was being brought to bear in the United States. Between 1880 and 1920, approximately 28 million foreigners, mainly of southern and eastern European origin (the so-called "darker races") had immigrated to America (Feldman 165). These new immigrants were joined in northern industrial cities by millions of African Americans escaping desperate poverty and racist Jim Crow legislation in the American South. These dislocations produced escalating economic, social, ethnic, and racial tensions, resulting in widespread calls for stricter immigration controls. In 1903, Congress adopted the *General Immigration Law* that provided for the impostition of a head tax on most immigrants and drastically restricted those categories of "aliens" that were to be allowed entry to the United States. This was followed by the *Immigration Act* of 1917 that, among other things, codified extant legislation, made literacy a requirement for entry, and prohibited immigration, virtually without exception, from a large Asian geographical area (Plender 74). Expatriate American writer Henry James was one of the first to address the implications of the federal government's immigration policies. His cultural critique, entitled T*he American Scene* (1907), reflects on the United States' enterprise of assimilative nation-building, which he regarded as a dangerous experiment with liberal social democracy and a bold attempt by the state to marshal an ever-expanding population and forge a distinct definition of a new "American" race.

Meanwhile African Americans, who had been declared free during the Civil War by President Lincoln's *Emancipation Proclamation* (1863), found their post-war status extremely uncertain. In the words of Columbia law professor Patricia Williams, "when slaves were unowned ... they were also disowned: they were thrust out of the market and into a nowhere land ... very much outside the marketplace of rights." As she concludes, "they became like all those who cannot express themselves in the language

of power and assertion and staked claims—all those who are nevertheless deserving of the dignity of social valuation, yet those who are so often denied survival itself" (21). The passage of the *Civil Rights Act* (1866) following the Civil War guaranteed African American men citizenship and equal protection under the law. It authorized the federal government to legislate civil rights but this did not include the right to vote. It was the Fourteenth Amendment (1868) that sought to enshrine citizenship rights in the American Constitution. The Fourteenth Amendment also brought the question of "birthright" to the fore. For the first time, it conferred citizenship at birth to children born in the U.S. to parents who were not citizens of the United States. Most importantly, the "Citizenship Clause" of the Fourteenth Amendment defined states' jurisdictions in relation to federal rules and regulations, asserting that, "No state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States." The Fifteen Amendment (1870) specifically prevented states from denying any citizen the right to vote on grounds of "race, colour, or previous condition of servitude."

Not surprisingly, there was much debate and dissent over ratification of the Fourteenth Amendment. From its inception, the Citizenship Clause has been widely open to interpretation and frequently the subject of legal action. During the post-war Reconstruction Era (1865-1877), former slave-holding states enacted various laws to undermine the equal treatment and citizenship rights of African Americans. As early as 1896, and *contra* the Fourteenth, in *Plessy v. Ferguson*, the Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of state laws requiring racial segregation in public facilities under the doctrine of "separate but equal." This doctrine instigated, in a number of significant ways, the social and political movements, and turmoil, in the United States during the first half of the twentieth century, yet it remained standard in U.S. law until its repudiation in 1954. The highly-charged debate *Plessy v. Ferguson* precipitated concerning the meaning of "citizenship" was taken up by a number of African American Modernist writers, notably Richard Wright and others, who sought not only equal status

in the eyes of the law, but also social justice in terms of fundamental human rights.

Modernist scholar Pericles Lewis has attributed the causes of early twentieth-century unrest to what he called a "Crisis of Liberalism" (17). "Liberalism," according to Lewis, referred to a political order that stood for basic freedoms and the right to parliamentary representation. At the end of the eighteenth century, the American and French Revolutions had "ushered in the modern political era," in which the principles of so-called "universal" human rights and "democratic self-government challenged all forms of hereditary privilege" (12). In actual practice, however, "Liberalism" had both its limits and its profound contradictions. As initially established, its definition of "citizenship" and the right to vote was largely the privilege and prerogative of white, propertied, middle-class men, who by virtue of their "birthright" enjoyed identity and status in the legal and political contexts of the nation. Ignored in this construction of the "citizen" were women, non-whites, the poor, the disabled, homosexuals, landed immigrants, and the colonized; in short, "all those considered incapable of self-government." In Lewis's words, the "crisis of liberalism" was a "crisis of political representation" (17). Yet the crisis was not confined to the issue of democratic inclusion: it was also a question of justice, one that went to the heart of the British and American legal and constitutional systems.

As Allan Hepburn explains, it is a country's constitution that creates "the national framework of law for citizens' obligations, entitlements, and responsibilities" (7).

> Legal constitutions (*politeia*) enshrine rights and obligations within the polity. Generally a democracy does not recognize a sovereign outside the group of citizens who, elected as representatives or directly engaged in deliberations affecting the polity, govern themselves. (Hepburn 11)

Prior to 1 January 1949, when the *British Nationality Act*, 1948 came into force, the people of Britain and its colonies were "subjects" rather than "citizens":

> The citizen, either by birth or by naturalization, belongs to a state; while owing allegiance to the state, the citizen also holds certain rights and duties vis-à-vis the state. A subject, by contrast, may have obligations without having any rights.... The British Empire, as a polity without a formal constitution, was organized around the sovereign, and subjects owed allegiance to that sovereign. In return, the subject benefited from the sovereign's protection, even in far-flung colonies. Yet within the empire, it was never clear, from either legal or social points of view, whether all subjects enjoyed the protection of the sovereign equally. (Hepburn 11)

Britain has a constitutional monarchy, meaning that the executive powers of the crown are largely symbolic, limited by constitutional rules that make Parliament the supreme legal authority.

In Britain, the Diceyan or orthodox perspective "wields an enormous influence on British constitutional law" (Loveland 24). Stated simply, it upholds two key principles: the sovereignty of Parliament and the Rule of Law. Parliament, consisting of the three branches of government (the House of Commons, House of Lords, and the monarchy) is the sovereign lawmaker. Any statute or piece of legislation enacted by Parliament is generally regarded as the highest form of law. Diceyan theory has both positive and negative components: Parliament can make or unmake any law whatsoever; however, the legality of any Act of Parliament cannot be challenged in any British Court. These concepts embody the positivist argument that William Blackstone articulated in his celebrated *Commentaries* (1765), that "to set juridical power above that of legislature ... would be subversive of all government" (qtd. Loveland 31). "From this perspective," as legal scholar Ian Loveland has observed, "the substantive moral content of legislation is, in legal terms, irrelevant" (24).

The Rule of Law in British constitutional terms is not a legal rule, but rather a political or moral principle. As Dicey defined it, it protects individual rights and liberties, it makes government officials just like every other citizen, subject to the law of the land, and it implies that the courts rather than the government have the power to determine whether or not a law had been broken: "no man is punishable or can be lawfully made to suffer in body or goods except for a distinct breach of the law established in the ordinary legal manner before the ordinary courts of the land" (Dicey 110). The House of Lords, in its judiciary capacity, is the apex of the British juridical system. It is important to note, however, that unlike the American system of government, in which individual rights are enshrined in the Constitution and the Supreme Court functions as the ultimate arbiter of the Constitution's meaning, in Britain, there is no "higher law" that protects an individual's rights. The British courts are authorized only to determine whether a law has been broken, not whether a law is "just" or "constitutional." For many writers, this sparked questions about the ethical basis of the law and foregrounded the issue of minority rights in a majoritarian system of government. Furthermore, it highlighted the tendency to confine the terms of justice to the nation's majority, embracing, in literary critic Gregg Crane's words, "the positivist counter-argument that the law is the expression of power not morality" (5). Questions surrounding the delegation of power stirred debate over the ideal nature of representative government and the attendant problems of economic elitism and political partisanship that arise in regard to the process of selection of members of parliament and the judiciary. Speaking as a woman and an outsider in a patriarchal society, Virginia Woolf cuts to the heart of this matter in her polemic, *Three Guineas*: "What real influence," she asks, "can we bring to bear upon law or business, religion or politics; we to whom many doors are still locked, or are at best ajar, we who have neither capital or force behind us?" (*TG* 141).

In the United States, the "ethical" basis of law was given considerably more formal weight. The American Revolution had been fought, not on legal, but on moral grounds. It was the blatant, arbitrary, and unjust application of British law to which the citizenry had objected. As a result, the nation's founders sought to engrave into their Constitution certain inalienable, individual rights for "man" as they defined "him": "Rights were first conceived as an essential bulwark against the predations of power.... In contrast to the British system, judicial review gave American judges the authority to curb the excesses of majority power by voiding legislation contrary to the principles of justice expressed in the Constitution" (Crane 24- 25). This did not mean that the Supreme Court was meant to be superior to Congress, but rather, in Alexander Hamilton's words, it only supposed "that the power of the people is superior to both [Congress and the Courts of Justice], and that where the will of the legislature [or the Presidency] ... stands in opposition to the will of the people, the judges ought to be governed by the latter not the former" (*The Federalist Papers*, No. 78). While the system was designed to assure the protection of minority interests and to affirm certain basic values, it paradoxically risked "the anti-democratic result of judges substituting their [own] morality for the majority will of the people" (Crane 38). Entrenching these values also made them very difficult to change. As Crane observes, "Justice requires some form of continuity at the level of general principle and some type of ongoing revision at the level of particular law or practice" (7). At the time that the U.S. Constitution was framed, voters were all male, virtually all white, and the great majority were affluent and well educated. African Americans were still enslaved and "[t]he consent of the poor, the uneducated, and women was not presumed to be necessary to the establishment of the ... newly created form of government" (Loveland 13). This pressed "racist, [sexist, and class-based] definitions of citizenship up against the purported universalism of the American republic" (Crane 3).

Disagreements over the importance of the evolutionary nature of the law have long formed a central part of constitutional debate. Dicey and Burgess had been largely resistant to constitutional change; others insisted on its absolute necessity. Writing in 1924, Supreme Court Justice Louis D. Brandeis opined that: "The process of inclusion and exclusion, so often applied in developing a rule, cannot end with its first enunciation. The rule as announced must be deemed tentative ... [for] the many and varying facts to which it will be applied cannot be foreseen. Modification implies growth. It is the life of the law" (264). From a literary perspective, Richard Wright's 1940 novel, *Native Son*, and James Agee's 1941 text, *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men*, both contain unsparing accounts of the seemingly insurmountable obstacles that faced the racially oppressed and abject poor, caught up as these groups were in some of the most intense forms of social struggle to change their circumstances and assume their place as equal citizens in an America that had long denied them their most fundamental rights.

All language is an attempt to "construct" reality, or, as Salman Rushdie so aptly puts it, "all description is itself a political act ... [r]e-describing the world is a necessary first step towards changing it. Writers and politicians/[law-makers] are natural rivals. Both groups try to make the world in their own images: they fight for the same territory. And [literature] is one way of denying the official politicians' version of the truth" (13-14). This dissertation is interested in the way in which the legal language and socio-political discourse in the early half of the twentieth century worked to construct a particular definition of the "citizen" and citizenship rights. It investigates the question of how, in their experiments with aesthetic form and language, Modernist writers attempt to transgress the bounds of nationalist, legal, and governmental thought, either to urge the preservation of established heritage and culture, or to challenge and attempt to transform the very idea that so-called "democratic" nations could champion freedom and equality yet bar so many of their people from even the most basic of human rights.

Legal thought and language, as Patricia Williams has observed, tends to be characterized by three features:

> (1) The hypostatization of exclusive categories and definitional polarities, the drawing of bright lines and clear taxonomies that purport to make life simpler in the face of life's complication...
>
> (2) The existence of transcendent, acontextual, universal legal truths or pure procedures ... [and]
>
> (3) The existence of objective, "unmediated" voices by which those transcendent, universal truths find their expression. (8-9)

As Williams points out, to be effective, legal precepts need to be clear, authoritative, and persuasive. Political argument is often couched in this same form of language. The founding documents of modern "liberalism"—the United States Constitution (1787) and the French *Déclaration des Droits de L'Homme et du Citoyen*" (1789)—by way of example, are constructed in language which attempts to embody the principles of justice upon which the nation is founded. The language of the founding declarations, while noble in aspiration, tends to gloss over contradictions, elide difference, and marginalize certain groups of people. French philosopher Étienne Balibar contends that "all class domination has to be formulated in the language of universality ... because the 'universalism' of the dominant ideology ... is rooted in the need to construct, in spite of the antagonism between them, an ideological 'world' shared by the exploiters and the exploited alike" (4). Such universal language speaks disturbingly to the deep element of denial that lies at the core of western, liberal democratic tradition. As African American writer Toni Morrison puts it in an oblique reference to those men who drafted and framed the American Constitution, "Living in a nation of people who *decided* that their world view would combine agendas of individual freedom *and* mechanisms for devastating racial oppression presents a singular landscape for a writer" (xiii).

Close reading of these founding documents helps to expose the detailed way in which the figure of the "citizen" comes to be constructed. It reveals a deep and unresolved tension between imagined communities and bounded territories; between the lofty idea of "man" and the concrete definition of the "citizen"; between the ideals of "human rights" and the realities of restricted access to "citizenship rights." Interestingly, each of these opposing concepts emerges precisely in conjunction with the birth of the "nation," when immigration policies were being tightened and borders more rigidly defined and defended. In *The Citizen and the Alien* (2006), Linda Bosniak has argued that such collisions derive from "citizenship's basic ethical ambiguity." As she explains, "the idea of citizenship is commonly invoked to convey a state of democratic belonging or inclusion, yet this inclusion is usually premised on a conception of community that is bounded and exclusive" (1). The present study analyzes these subtle tensions so pervasive in legal and political discourse. It explores the question of whether the limits, gaps, and contradictions embedded in the language found therein, and seemingly materialized by the historical conflicts of the time, are, as Balibar would suggest, a means of enabling oppression, or if in fact the language itself is what creates space for reinterpretation, allowing these documents to live, breathe, and evolve (as Hannah Arendt would argue they must). Arendt's *On Revolution* (1963) endorses Thomas Jefferson's intense opposition to "those who 'look at constitutions with sanctimonious reverence, and deem them like the ark of the covenant, too sacred to be touched'" (qtd. Crane 7).

For Modernist writers concerned with issues of citizenship and belonging, the "crisis of representation" was more than a crisis of political representation; it was also an apparent collapse of faith in the traditional literary means of representation of a world that had drastically changed. This, according to Lewis, "was exacerbated in literature by the very medium out of which literature is created: language" (10). As Ferdinand de Saussure, Mikhail Bahktin, and other linguistic theorists have

shown, language is evolving, intertextual, and infused with prior and contemporary contexts, connotations, codes, and conventions which help to determine its meaning. Such observations led to an awareness of both the mediated nature of all language and the important implications that follow from that fact.

It was Pierre Bourdieu, however, who zeroed in on the distinct concept of the "*social laws of construction*" of language. Bourdieu points out that language cannot exist independently of its users; it benefits, rather, "from the institutional conditions necessary for its generalized codification and imposition." Bourdieu argues that "among all members of the 'linguistic community,'" traditionally defined as a "'group of people who use the same system of linguistic signs,'" there develop the properties of what he calls "official language":

> Known and recognized (more or less completely) throughout the whole jurisdiction of a certain political authority, [this language] helps ... reinforce the authority which is the source of its dominance.... This language is the one which, within the territorial limits of that unit, imposes itself on the whole population as the only legitimate language, especially in situations that are characterized as ...'formal'.... Produced by authors who have the authority to write, fixed and codified by grammarians and teachers who are ... charged with the task of inculcating its mastery, the language is a *code*, in the sense of a cipher enabling equivalences to be established between sounds and meanings, *but also in the sense of a system of norms regulating linguistic practices.*
>
> *The official language is bound up with the state, both in its genesis and its social uses. It is in the process of state formation that the conditions are created for the constitution of a unified linguistic market, dominated by the official language*. Obligatory on official occasions and in official places (schools, public administrations, political institutions, etc.), this state

> language becomes the theoretical norm against which all linguistic practices are objectively measured. (*Language & Symbolic Power* 45; emphases mine)

Bourdieu, in fact, makes a very Foucauldian argument. If knowledge is manufactured through a number of social and institutional discourses, language is the instrument of power through which "truth" is generated and policed.

Even before Bourdieu and other theorists began giving shape to these ideas about the ideologically-infused nature of social discourse, Modernist writers were exploring and redirecting the power of language, not only to define and modify the so-called authorized version of the truth, but more importantly, its capacity for being "'multi-accentual' rather than frozen in meaning," something that could be used "as a material means of production" whereby "through a process of social conflict and dialogue" (Eagleton 102), words could be appropriated and imbued not only with new meaning but, more importantly, with disruptive power of their own. This dissertation examines how the concept of the "citizen" becomes articulated in literary texts. Specifically, it analyzes the particular aesthetic, formal, and stylistic innovations that each of the writers examined herein deploy; their strategies for creating new means of engagement with the debates over the meaning and consequences of citizenship and "belonging" in the modern democratic context of the nation. The following outline of chapters provides an overview of the writers, specific texts, and rationale for the particular groupings that form the basis of this project.

Chapter One, "Policing Citizenship," deals with themes of alienation and subjugation in the context of nationalist discourse, focusing on works by Joseph Conrad (1857–1924) and James Joyce (1882–1941), both of whom wrote from a position of exilic consciousness. Joseph Conrad was a Russian citizen born in the Ukraine in what had once been part of the Polish-Lithuanian commonwealth. Exiled from Russia, he was granted British nationality in 1886 but, writing in a new language for a still relatively unfamiliar British audience, Conrad remained doubly

displaced in his adoptive country. From this detached standpoint, Conrad was one of the first Modernists to critique the ideals of liberal democracy and liberal humanism. His 1907 novel *The Secret Agent* engages in an attack on British imperialism and explores the powerless status and growing alienation of certain "outsider groups" in British society. George Gasyna argues that Conrad "relied on language to articulate an exilic space of hope" and that his work implicitly engages with Foucault's notion of heterotopia, spaces or sites of potential resistance, or as Gasyna expresses it, "a counter-discourse that undermines our sense of comfortable familiarity because it runs counter to our 'universal laws and breaks up the ordering surfaces'" (5).

Joyce's work emerged against the backdrop of the Irish struggle for independence from British colonial rule and the subsequent Irish Civil War of 1922–23. Deeply disillusioned with the political, religious, and social situation in Ireland, Joyce went into self-imposed exile in 1904 and lived the balance of his life in Trieste, Paris, and Zurich. His ongoing critique of citizenship under British imperial rule is particularly well illustrated by the mock-epic portrayal of the figure of "the Citizen" cast in the role of the one-eyed Cyclops in *Ulysses* (1922). In terms of narrative function, the "Citizen" represents a fierce brand of Irish nationalism and anti-Semitism not uncommon among the Irish in Dublin in 1904 (and the early 1920's). The unnamed "Citizen" is depicted as a myopic, narrow-minded, bigoted xenophobe. In this "Cyclops" segment, which serves as the introduction to the final third of the novel, Joyce sympathetically revisits what it means to be an "outsider" like Leopold Bloom, a Jew in Catholic Dublin, or Stephen Dedalus, the reluctantly returned, estranged insider. The episode, presented partly through animated dialogue and partly through interpolation in exaggerated legalese and sensational journalistic style, brilliantly satirizes the kind of "closed" discourse so typical of many disciplines. By contrast, Joyce's text remains endlessly open to interpretive possibilities. The entire segment is highly subversive, offering a rich minefield for analysis of the ways

in which Joyce uses the literary to challenge the prevailing legal and political discourses of the day.

Chapter Two, "Citizenship and Nationalism," deals with the building of the nation, focusing on the themes of cultural homogeneity versus heterogeneity, governmentality, and the management of populations. It juxtaposes Henry James (1843–1916), staunch defender of the civilized life and the old European order, with Mina Loy (1882–1966), quintessential female figure of the Modernist avant-garde. Specifically, it contrasts Henry James's *The American Scene* (1905), his essay of the same year "The Question of Our Speech," and one of his later novels, *The Ambassadors* (1903), with Mina Loy's socio-political treatise "International Psycho-Democracy" (1920) and her long poem "Anglo-Mongrels and the Rose" (1923). Henry James is a pivotal figure among Anglo-American writers concerned with questions of citizenship. Born an American, James alternated between living in England and the United States for the first twenty years of his life, after which he permanently settled in London, becoming a British subject in 1915. James's return visit to America in 1905, following an absence of almost a quarter century, was the impetus for *The American Scene*, a work which is preoccupied with issues of nation, ethnic hardiness, and the longer-term implications of American immigration and citizenship policies through which racial and national identities were being forged. Appalled by the vision of the alien "hordes" pouring into and off of Ellis Island, James laments "the swarming ambiguity and fugacity of race and tongue" (*TAS* 520) and longs for "consanguity," which, as Lesley Higgins has pointed out, is "an exquisitely polite euphemism for racial purity" (167). Speech for James is the medium by which culture is imparted and defined. Cultured social intercourse, he submits, depends upon the establishment of a certain "tone-standard" (*TAS* 45) and the "possession of a common language" in order to ensure the achievement of a "coherent culture" (*TAS* 43).

By contrast, as a woman, a Jew, and a foreigner, an outsider who was nevertheless intimately connected with the major political and aesthetic movements of her time, Mina Loy brings a wholly opposing perspective to Modernist questions of citizenship and belonging. First published in America, she was heralded there, even before her arrival in 1916, as the very personification of the "New Woman." Later she became a naturalized American citizen. Her poem "Anglo-Mongrels and the Rose" (1923) deals with her family background (a Hungarian-Jewish father who married Loy's English mother at least in part as a means of obtaining British citizenship). Its biting caricature of her father as a "foreigner," her mother as the English "Nation," and herself as the mongrel product of that ill-fated union, provides a fascinating counterbalance to Henry James's assessment (from his adopted European perspective) of the American "scene."

Ezra Pound's concept of *logopoeia*, "the dance of the intellect among words," aptly characterizes Loy's poetics. "Logopoeia employs words not only for their direct meaning, but ... takes count ... of habits of usage, of the context we expect to find with the words, its usual concomitants, of its known acceptances, and of ironical play" (Pound 25). Loy's poetics were brashly unconventional. As the editor of Loy's poems Roger Conover has observed, "Loy withheld traditional meter, rhyme, and syntax ... [s]he broke every rule on the page, made up her own grammar, invented her own words—even improvised her own punctuation (xv). Rachel Potter extends this idea to Loy's concept of "psycho-democracy," which she states is "skeptical about a new mass democracy in which the individual can be controlled by the hypnotic power of a capitalist media." Loy, she argues, "attacks the formalism of this politics, the way in which the political language is language about language" (Potter 183). Loy challenges the centripetal forces of language and, in this way, provides a compelling foil for James.

Chapter Three, "Citizenship and War," deals with issues of gender and power in nationalist discourse in works by Virginia Woolf (1882–1941) and W. H. Auden (1907–1973). Specifically, it contrasts Woolf's novel *The Years* (1937) and her extended essay

entitled *Three Guineas* (1938) with several of Auden's poems of the late 1930s. Woolf, growing up in an era during which women were denied access to formal education and the right to vote, and in which they were forced to forfeit their right to citizenship upon marriage to a foreigner, believed women were very much social "outsiders" imprisoned in a patriarchal state. This insight became the crucial preoccupation of a novel-essay entitled *The Pargiters* that Woolf embarked on but subsequently published as two separate texts: the fictional *The Years* (1937) and her political polemic *Three Guineas* (1938). During the 1930s, Woolf became increasingly concerned with the rise of fascism. Her essay, like her creative writings, argues that gender politics lie at the core of militaristic tyranny: "The whole iniquity of dictatorship, whether in Oxford or Cambridge, in Whitehall or Downing Street, against Jew or against women, in England, or in Germany, in Italy or in Spain is now apparent" (*TG* 228). The essay contests the very concept of the "nation," in which she claims women had very little vested interest, given their non-entity status within the male-dominated state. These same gender politics inform "ordinary lives" on any ordinary day in several decades in *The Years*. Woolf's political convictions also underlie what Michèle Barrett calls the "dramatic shift in her novel-writing practice [as seen] in *The Years*" (xxv).[5] As Woolf observes in her essay "The Leaning Tower" (1940), the events of August 1914-18 changed everything for young writers. Politics could no longer be ignored; paraphrasing Matthew Arnold, Woolf argued that writers became "dwellers in two worlds, one dying, the other struggling to be born" (*E* 176). In her own writing, Woolf experimented endlessly with new literary forms, literary techniques, and literary language, in her attempt to find fresh ways of presenting the relationship between the individual and the forces of society.

One of the authors Woolf singles out for both praise and concern in regard to the formidable task faced by the new generation of writers growing up in this age of unprecedented change and profound uncertainty is W. H. Auden. Like Woolf, Auden was deeply engaged in the political and nationalist issues of his day. In the late twenties, he

spent time in Berlin, where he experienced first-hand the political and economic unrest that was to become one of the major themes of his work. In 1937, he went abroad to become involved in the Spanish Civil War; in 1938, he spent six months reporting on the Sino-Japanese War. Many of Auden poems of the 1930s such as "A Summer Night" (penned in 1933), "Look Stranger!" (1936) and "Oxford" (1938) deal with motifs of the citizen and politics, morality and the individual. Others, including "Spain" (1937), the "Unknown Citizen" (published in the *New Yorker* in 1939), "September 1, 1939" (written and published that same year), "In Memory of W. B. Yeats" (1939), and the much later "Shield of Achilles" (1948), trace Auden's engagement with and evolving views on the themes of citizenship, nationalism, and the responsibility of the artist in time of war.

Like Woolf, Auden regarded himself as an outsider in English society, a homosexual in a country in which, according to the *Criminal Law Amendment Act* of 1885, any kind of "gross indecency" between males was strictly illegal and punishable by imprisonment and hard labour. Disenchanted generally with the oppressive nature of English society and deeply concerned over signs of growing totalitarianism in Europe, Auden left Britain in 1939, entered the U.S. on a temporary visa, and subsequently became an American citizen in 1946. Auden was a master at finding original ways of using language to reinvent poetry, often utilizing traditional forms. His poetry, as Edward Mendelson has observed, "resist[s] the tendency characteristic of his time to perceive human beings as the product of collective, instinctive, archetypal forces, rather than as individuals who think, choose, and feel" (xv). This chapter examines the ways in which Woolf’s and Auden's texts question the nature of human belonging, with the aim of challenging the very idea of the "nation" and subverting the dominant ideologies governing citizenship law.

Chapter Four, "Framing the Citizen," picks up on the haunting last line of a poem by African American writer Langston Hughes, which proclaims: "I, too, am America." This chapter engages the themes of race and class as they respectively relate to

constructions of citizenship presented in Richard Wright's *Native Son* (1940) and James Agee/Walker Evans's *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men* (1941). Both works attempt to convey the actual lived experiences of those members of the population that have been effectively barred from their rights as legal citizens due either to widespread, ruthless, systemic racism and/or relentless class discrimination and oppression. As a native son, Wright's protagonist Bigger Thomas is a product of his country, his identity forged by the social and cultural forces that surround him. The bitter irony of Wright's title is its tacit acknowledgment of Bigger's birth on American soil, which serves to highlight the gulf between his native status and his lack of meaningful civil rights.

Richard Nathaniel Wright (1908–1960) was born on Rucker's plantation in Roxie Mississippi, the grandson of slaves who had been freed in 1865 following the Civil War and the passage of the Thirteenth Amendment to the American Constitution. *Native Son* and its companion essay, "How 'Bigger' was Born," reflect Wright's personal need to understand and explain the "revolutionary impulse" which gripped him and "millions of other Bigger Thomases in every land and race...." (HB 444, 446), who, as objects of terrible oppression born of "a vast dense ideology of racial superiority," had been segregated, suppressed, and stripped of their humanity—"conditioned" to "hope for little and to receive that little without rebelling" (HB 440, 438). Wright recognized that such "dispossessed and disinherited" people lived, at least in America, "amid the greatest possible plenty on earth," *tantalizingly close* to the very civilization which sought to bar "blacks" from "its incentives and prizes" and "keep them out" (HB 446-7, 438). Wright's novel explores what happens when people are forced to accept imposed identities and are confined to living in intolerable conditions. *Native Son* examines "the tensity, the fear, the hate, the impatience, the sense of exclusion, the ache for violent action, the emotional and cultural hunger" that, as Wright so acutely perceived, could drive those living in the underbelly of this "money-grubbing, industrial" nation to extreme violence (HB 447, 462).

In the 1930s, economic depression took a particularly enormous toll on desperately poor, white sharecropper families in the American South. Poet and journalist James Agee (1909–1955) and photographer Walker Evans (1903–1975), on assignment for *Fortune* magazine, documented the lives of these people in their 1941 text *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men*. Describing the families whose lives they observe as "clients of Rehabilitation" who now "owed the Government" (30), Agee and Evans starkly expose why and how these people have no hope of ever escaping bodily subjugation in the sheer drudgery of their everyday work to survive. Evans's deeply moving photographs and Agee's alternately documentary/digressive style, precisely detailed description, and lush, lyrical language are incredibly powerful in their ability to evoke the political realities of these people's existence. In describing the materiality of the social and economic conditions in the deep South, Agee and Evans raise searing questions that go to the heart of what it means to be a citizen in the "Great Democracy" of America. This final chapter considers how Wright's and Agee's texts work to expand the concept of human justice. As Gregg Crane puts it, "with a keen awareness of how commonly the rule of law devolves into an expression of majority power and bias, [these writers] claim the authority of aesthetic and ethical principles in order to affirm and transform those principles" (10).

In recent years, courts have begun to blur both the lines that once so clearly delimited a nation's territory and the laws that so tightly bound the concept of "citizenship" to nation-state membership. By way of example, the European Union (EU) has accorded EU citizens certain economic and political rights at a supra-national level. The International Court of Justice, the primary judicial branch of the United Nations established in 1945 in The Hague, now oversees standards of international human rights. Numerous court rulings, such as that of the U.S. Supreme Court in the 1982 case, *Plyler v. Doe*, have determined that despite a person's initial unlawful entry into a state, and despite the fact that "he may for that

reason be expelled," that person "is entitled to equal protection under the laws that the State may choose to establish" (*Plyler* 457). Linda Bosniak points out that increasingly now, simply "[b]y virtue of their territorial presence and personhood, aliens are routinely entitled to a broad range of important civil and social rights—rights of a kind that are commonly distributed in the language of citizenship" (34). As she concludes, "Citizenship status is not always antecedent to citizenship rights" (1).

The conclusion of this dissertation returns to its main thesis that Modernist writers and thinkers elaborate and interrogate the concept of the "citizen" in their texts and theorize key aspects of individual versus collective and human versus legal rights. It argues that their literary experiments are aimed at contesting the purported universalism of liberal polity, the inequalities and injustices of citizenship law, as well as interrogating the homogenizing force of the nation-state by exposing its underlying principles of differentiation and exclusion. In examining the ways in which the "citizen" and "citizenship" are constructed in Anglo-American legal, socio-political, and literary discourse in the early twentieth century, I demonstrate that Modernist writers were in fact at the forefront of much contemporary citizenship debate. In light of the relevance of the Modernists' writing to ongoing controversies concerning access to and jurisdiction over citizenship rights, the Conclusion returns to the theoretical question of how literary discourse problematizes legal and political discourse and whether, in this process of engagement and in its efforts to re-conceptualize the world, literature can aspire to be an effective instrument for change.

Endnotes

[1] The first exhibition of Post-Impressionist paintings in Britain, "Manet and the Post-Impressionists," was mounted by Roger Fry (1866-1934) in November 1910 at the Grafton Galleries in Mayfair, London. The exhibition marked the introduction of the British public to the *avant-garde* art movement that had been developing on the Continent since the late nineteenth century, initiated by a varied group of artists "who reacted against the naturalism of the Impressionists to explore colour, line, and form and the emotional response of the artist" (*OED*). The exhibition focused on the works of Paul Cézanne, Paul Gauguin, and Vincent van Gogh, but as Pericles Lewis observes, it "also attempted to outline a trajectory from Édouard Manet to the [then] most recent 'post-impressionists,' Henri Matisse and Pablo Picasso" (92). For a full discussion of the 1910 exhibit's reception, see Lewis 91-92. Roger Fry curated a second Post-impressionist exhibit at the same gallery in 1912.

[2] The Armory Show of 1913, officially known as The International Exhibition of Modern Art, was organized by the Association of American Painters and Sculptors. It was mounted in New York City's Regiment Armory on Lexington Avenue where it ran from 17 February–15 March 1913. It was the first large exhibition of Post-Impressionist work in America. Following its run in New York, the show was exhibited at the Art Institute of Chicago and the Copley Society of Art in Boston, where, due to a shortage of space, all works by American artists were removed. See Milton W. Brown, 185-6.

[3] The *Rite of Spring* ballet was first performed in the Théâtre des Champs-Elysees in Paris on 29 May 1913. The provocative orchestral work was composed by Russian composer Igor Stravinsky; the original choreography, by Vasilev Nijinsky; with stage design and costumes by Nicholas Roerich. Stravinsky's idea was to depict the violent coming of spring—"'that seemed to begin in an hour and was like the whole earth

cracking'"—and the "'pagan ritual" of a "sacrificial virgin danc[ing] herself to death'" (qtd. Eksteins 56). As Eksteins explains, *The Rite of Spring* challenged "sexual morality, which was so central a symbol of the established order, especially in the heart of political, economic, and imperial power, western Europe" (49). The theme "brought the very notion of civilization into question." The music was "jarring ... lack[ing] ornamentation, moral intimation, and even, for the most part, melody." The orchestra "was immense, 120 instruments, with a high percentage of percussion which could produce a formidable eruption of sound. With its violence, dissonance and apparent cacophony the [score] was as energetic and primitive as the theme" (71). The choreography was "all angular and jolting" (72); "movement was reduced to heavy jumping" and "the classical pose was contradicted entirely by what appeared to many as knock-kneed contortion" (71-2). Eksteins notes that the ballet "contains and illustrates many of the essential features of the modern revolt: the overt hostility to inherited form; the fascination with primitivism ... the emphasis on vitalism as opposed to rationalism; the perception of existence as continuous flux and a series of relations, not as constants and absolutes; the psychological introspection accompanying the rebellion against social convention" (73). Following its run in Paris, and a brief tour in London (T. S. Eliot was among the admirers), it was not performed again until December 1920 when a new production mounted in Paris, choreographed by Léonide Massine, replaced Nijinsky's original. In 1987, Nijinsky's original choreography, long believed to have been lost, was reconstructed and performed by the Joffrey Ballet in Los Angeles. For a discussion of the history of the premiere and its reception, see Modris Eksteins, 9-54; Thomas Forrest Kelly, 276-305; and Eric Walter White, 177-8.

[4] The issue of Home Rule for Ireland was central to British politics in the period between 1880 and 1914. For a full discussion of the political situation and events leading up to the Irish declaration of independence from Britain and the "War of

Independence (January 1919–July 1921), see Dangerfield, 72-120, 269-292, 328-340.

[5] As initially conceived, Woolf's project was to develop a new type of fiction, one that would faithfully reflect both her aesthetic principles and the dangerous and shifting political realities of her time. The groundbreaking work, according to Woolf, would trace the fortunes of the Pargiter family from 1880 to the "here and now" (*D* IV 129). It was to have been a new experiment in form. The book which we now know as *The Pargiters* was to have been a "'novel-essay,'" which as Jeri Johnson explains, "would alternate between essays and fiction in discreet chapters. The strictly maintained convention of the essays is that they form parts of a speech being delivered to an audience of professional women. To illustrate her at times overtly polemical points, the Speaker (handily, a novelist) reads from an ostensible 'work in progress', an historical novel" (xii). In this manner, Johnson claims, Woolf attempted to avoid "the problem of making fiction carry the burden of historical analysis by siphoning it off into the didactic essays" (xv). Woolf's novel-essay was subsequently published as two separate texts, *Three Guineas* and *The Years*. In the final version of *The Years*, however, her concerns about politics and history and the relationship between politics and art "do not remain ... distinctively different discourse[s; rather they] become "imbedded in the very form of the novel itself" (Johnson xxi). For a full discussion of Woolf's reclamation of verisimilitude, see Johnson ix-xxxiv.

Chapter One

Policing Citizenship

Controversy over citizenship became a dominant issue in English and Irish political life in the period 1880–1922, during which a radical shift in ways of thinking about citizenship occurred. Two prominent Modernist writers, Joseph Conrad and James Joyce, were particularly attuned to the cultural implications of events that were taking place in England and Ireland at the time they were writing. Perhaps the most visible sign of change was the implementation, 1 January 1906, of the *Aliens Act,* 1905. This legislation, occasioned primarily by the growing numbers of Russian and Eastern European Jews escaping wars and/or genocide in their home territories, was the first of its kind in peacetime to restrict immigration into Britain. Throughout most of the nineteenth century, little restraint had been placed upon immigrant entry. In 1900, among countries in Europe, and even compared with the United States, Britain was uniquely tolerant in its immigration policies.[1] The *Aliens Act,* 1905 signalled a profound reversal of direction.

Several scholars have produced fulsome accounts of the public debates leading up to the passage of the Act in the context of then-contemporary political and social attitudes towards specific groups of newcomers.[2] As their work has shown, the influx of migrants inspired heated arguments that pitted liberal ideals of "hospitality to strangers" against deepening fears about allowing unrestricted access to British society. After 1905, national boundaries became more entrenched and citizenship became more exclusionary. The *Aliens Act* marked the moment the emphasis shifted, as Danièle Joly so aptly puts it, from "the protection of refugees" to "the protection of borders" (500). Historian Eric Hobswam has identified the early twentieth century—the period in which Conrad and Joyce were writing—as the "apogee of nationalism" (131). It was at this time that the legal distinction between

citizen and alien came to define the modern nation-state. It was also at this juncture that the concept of "national" citizenship solidified as the indispensable and accepted guarantor of individual identity, group membership, and political privilege.[3]

How did these changes come about? How was such a massive alteration in public opinion engineered? What role did political discourse play and whose interests did it serve? Most importantly for this study, how was literary discourse involved and how did it reflect, respond to and/or resist such movements? What other historical and discursive developments contributed to the process? Tracing the changes in attitude that led to the passage of the *Aliens Act,* 1905—which set the tone for more draconian measures passed in 1914, 1919, and 1920[4]—involves analyzing the evolution of various discourses that, during the nineteenth and early part of the twentieth centuries, helped shape these changing conceptions of citizenship. Over the course of this period, numerous social, political, and economic factors set conditions for the emergence and circulation of a wide variety of institutional discourses which, in turn, worked both separately and in interrelated ways to elaborate and extend new understandings of the nation and nationalist belonging. Such factors included the expansion of industrial capitalism and the concomitant growth of a powerful, propertied middle class; massive demographic shifts which resulted in over-crowding, disease, and crime becoming endemic in highly populated urban slums; the rise of policing; the growth of education, literacy, mass journalism, and the flourishing of a commercial market for popular literature (crime literature in particular); and finally, the burgeoning of the human sciences, such as anthropology and criminology, which established "man" and "criminal man" as objects of scientific investigation. Within these broad contexts, there operated multiple different discourses that make up the totality of social discourse, a complex network of disciplines and discursive practices through which the officially sanctioned knowledge of a given society comes to be produced. It was at the intersection of these

sometimes conflicting, collaborative, converging discourses that new conceptions of citizenship and alienage were cast, in Great Britain, at the beginning of the twentieth century. Literary discourse played an integral and paradoxical role in these developments.

As this chapter will show, literature in this period played a crucial function in the implementation of an English nationalist agenda. Marie-Christine Leps points out that it was at this particular time that literature became institutionalized, "when literature [came to be] championed ... as a useful agent for the founding of the unified nation, when the novel, in particular, was seen as providing the grounds for a common culture cutting across class barriers" (142). Late nineteenth-century realist narratives proved to be a particularly useful conduit for the imaginative reproduction of the concepts of nationhood and national identity. This posed a special challenge for politically engaged Modernist writers. For Conrad and Joyce, the nation-building enterprise masked the ways in which multiple discourses worked in the interests of the then-dominant classes to delimit the nation and restrict access to citizens' rights. As Conrad and Joyce were acutely aware, all discourse—literary discourse included—is involved in the production of hegemonic truth. Yet, while literature draws on and is informed by other discourses, it also has the ability to examine, critique, and contest them. More than just a means for the dissemination of ideology, literature offers the possibility of a transgressive experience for readers. This is a central preoccupation of both writers' work.

In their respective texts, *The Secret Agent* and *Ulysses*, Conrad and Joyce examine the meaning of citizenship in the context of a variety of discourses that influenced the rise of nationalism and the protectionist sentiments and reactions that accompanied it. Despite Britain's liberal traditions, its longstanding commitment to parliamentary democracy, and its professed support of generally progressive electoral policies,[5] power remained in the hands of a minority of elite, English,

property-owning men who shared a common background and worldview. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, agitation for suffrage was becoming increasingly militant. To the dominant classes, the demands represented a serious threat to the status quo. For those who were disenfranchised, English "nationalist" discourse was beginning to lose its sway. The debate that ensued sparked both violent action and equally violent political reaction, in the streets, in the press, and in the Houses of Parliament. It involved the use of inflammatory and divisive rhetoric as well as the use of bombs. It pitted the ideals of civilization and culture against the horror of lawlessness and anarchy, and it was closely bound to questions of whose culture merited representation, who was entitled to citizenship, who had the privilege to speak, and who was to be accorded the right to participate in the determination of public and government affairs.

For Conrad and Joyce this "crisis of representation" in the political sense was paralleled by a "crisis of representation" in an alternative sense—in the aesthetic and textual sense, that is. Both Conrad and Joyce grappled with the inadequacy of existing modes of representation to capture the increasingly heterogeneous, complex, and contradictory nature of experience. Parallel crises of political and artistic representation have often been linked in Modernist literary criticism.[6] The experimental aspects of Modernist literature have been amply discussed in terms of the effects of any number of transformative social, political, and economic events that occurred during the latter half of the nineteenth and early part of the twentieth centuries. The modernists' conscious desire to make art that was radically different from that of the previous period is generally attributed to their need to represent new realities, their desire to create a set of conventions more appropriate to the modern age, or as Pericles Lewis suggests, to their recognition of art's demand for constant renewal: "Originality lay not in discovering timeless truths but in embracing the transitory nature of modernity itself" (5, 6). Yet, the experimental nature of

Conrad's and Joyce's writing emerged not simply due to a determination to "Make it New!"[7]—nor were these parallel "crises of representation" coincidental, mere accidents of history. Rather, they were correlative in deep and involved ways that the balance of this chapter will illuminate. Conrad's and Joyce's texts challenge the purported universalism and egalitarianism of liberal democratic polity, working to expose the glaring disparities elided by "nationalist" discourse. Their literary innovations had a pointed, political purpose: one that was directly linked to contesting not only the *idea* of the nation but also the very concept of *all* "truth" manufactured in discourse. If the conventions of the nineteenth-century realistic narrative allowed the enactment of a nationalist agenda, Conrad's and Joyce's texts experiment with disrupting the realist mode. In *The Secret Agent*, Conrad disturbs the conventions of realism, especially its causal-chronological continuities, but does not abandon them entirely. In *Ulysses*, Joyce begins in a modified realist mode but then proceeds to dissect and disassemble it. This chapter advances the argument that Conrad's and Joyce's aesthetic projects are inextricably intertwined with their respective projects to dismantle what they saw as facile arguments about nationalism and citizenship.

The Secret Agent and *Ulysses* both explore the intricate networks of power functioning in British society. The operations of power are also one of the central themes of Michel Foucault's work, and as such, his analyses provide a useful conceptual and methodological foundation for understanding the political work of the literary texts. Foucault's guiding premise in *Discipline and Punish* is that "power and knowledge directly imply one another; [...] there is no power relation without the correlative constitution of a field of knowledge, nor any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute at the same time power relations" (*DP* 27). In other words, any exercise of power involves the production of "truth": the endorsement and legitimation, by a variety of respected public institutions, of certain sets of

established "facts" or officially sanctioned ways of organizing and understanding the world. Importantly, this disciplinary power, which emerged in the eighteenth century, is not something that emanates from a single, pinpointable locus, nor is it one that can be sustained by force. Rather, to be effective power must leverage a complex set of interrelating and inter-dependant disciplines and discourses through which received knowledge or "truth" in a given society comes to be produced, distributed, reiterated, and ultimately absorbed and accepted. Once knowledge is accorded truth value, according to Foucault, it takes on a disciplinary function. It comes to serve and protect the interests of the dominant class. It forms a naturalized, monolithic and seemingly unassailable version of reality, which works unceasingly to maintain the existing stratification of society and to ensure individuals' cooperation and compliance with established social norms.

This chapter focuses on Conrad's and Joyce's respective explorations of the workings of power and the disciplines and discursive systems that condition the human subject and it considers the implications these processes have for defining the concept of citizenship. Before turning to a detailed discussion of the literary texts, however, the following sections provide some necessary historical and theoretical background. Section One deals with the political contexts in which Conrad and Joyce were writing. Section Two examines the role of literature in the nationalist agenda. Section Three contains a brief explication of Foucault's theory of disciplinary power, which in turn serves to ground a discussion, in Sections Four and Five, of the concepts of citizenship and alienage in the literary texts and the ways these were constituted in various strands of social discourse at the turn of the twentieth century. The balance of the chapter is devoted to close analysis, through a Foucauldian lens, of Conrad's and Joyce's critical fictions, the subversive subplots, disruptive textual practices, and revolutionary energies that drive their respective literary projects.

I. Conrad and Joyce: Personal Influences and Historical Contexts

Questions of citizenship were formative issues for Joseph Conrad and James Joyce. Both had complicated and conflicted relations with their "native" countries and notions of nationalist belonging. Both grew up, not as citizens of their birth countries, but as involuntary subjects of a foreign power and both, as young men, left their occupied homelands to become life-long expatriates. Born in 1857 in the Russian-annexed Polish Ukraine, Conrad considered himself a Pole (at the time, a linguistic and cultural, rather than a national identity). His parents were actively engaged in the Polish struggle for national independence. Under constant police surveillance, they were arrested, tried by a military tribunal, forced into exile, and died while Conrad was still a boy. Subsequently, Conrad spent four years in the service of the French merchant marine before joining the British navy in 1878, choosing, in 1886 to become a naturalized British subject. Years later, disappointed with the initial lacklustre commercial success and generally negative tone of early reviews of *The Secret Agent*, Conrad would attribute his perceived lack of acceptance in his adopted country to his exilic background. In a 1907 letter to his long-time friend John Galsworthy, he admitted, "there is something in me that is unsympathetic to the general public. ... *Foreignness* I suppose" (*CL* 4: 9-10).

Joyce's life and work were similarly shaped by the social context and cultural forces from which he emerged. Born at the opposite end of the continent, a generation later in 1882, Joyce was raised a Catholic in an Ireland dominated by British rule. Deeply influenced by Ireland's struggle for its own voice in political affairs, Joyce increasingly condemned the peculiarly Irish predicament of being the doubly cursed "political subject of the British imperial state" and the religious subject of "the holy Roman catholic and apostolic church" (*U* 1.643-44). Choosing self-exile in Europe in 1904, Joyce spent the balance of his life living in Italy, Switzerland, and France. Like Conrad, Joyce retained a deeply ambivalent relationship with his native

country. While he felt a strong affinity with the Irish nationalist cause as a means of mobilizing resistance to English oppression, he had little time for militancy and intolerance, and consistently condemned what he referred to as "the old pap of racial hatred" (*L* 2: 187).

Conrad began writing *The Secret Agent*, "provisionally entitled *Verloc*" (*CL* 3: 316), in February 1906, approximately a month after the *Aliens Act* came into force. Set in 1894 following the Fenian dynamite campaigns of the late 1880's,[8] and published in 1907, Conrad's story probes the establishment's reaction to the perceived security threat posed by "alien" immigration and "anarchist" activity. The tale was inspired by newspaper accounts of an actual attempt to blow up the Greenwich Observatory on 15 February 1894.[9] The incident involved a man named Martial Bourdin, who died from injuries presumed to be the result of the premature explosion of his own bomb. Research of contemporary newspaper coverage of the event, combined with reports from the inquest, confirm the "official" view that Bourdin's actions had the backing of known international anarchist organizations. Interestingly, however, alluding to the incident's futility in his 1920 "Author's Note" to the novel, Conrad himself claimed that what most struck home was "the fact of a man blown to bits for nothing even remotely resembling an idea, anarchistic or other" (*AN* 229-30). It is this divergence between Conrad's narrator's view of the incident, and the "official" explanation that it was an anarchist plot aimed at civil society, that forms the genesis of Conrad's fictional account. Conrad's objective, at least in part, is to explode the "official" myth of alien operatives on British soil so urgently in need of suppression. The novel is particularly interested in those discursive practices, which collaborated and combined to shape social perceptions and foment fear of an anarchist threat. *The Secret Agent* investigates those discursive systems and the ways they become self-legitimating. Conrad's text also interrogates the way in which power functions through these systems and the

methods by which it comes to exceed the bounds of its legitimate foundations in law. The novel rejects the idea that British civil life is imperilled by foreign revolutionaries. Emphatically, Conrad reveals the so-called "anarchists" to be mere "shams" (*CL* 3: 491). More importantly, he strongly implies that the real threat to individual civil liberties is internal, not external. Proliferating power and the illegitimate use of governmental authority—leveraged to cement a certain worldview and definition of citizenship—are Conrad's main targets.

Joyce's *Ulysses*, begun in 1914 (published in 1922), was written during the years of a renewed Irish campaign for independence from Britain. By 1904, the year in which the novel is set, two Home Rule bills that would have granted Ireland a measure of political independence from Britain had been vetoed by the British House of Lords. A third Home Rule Bill was passed under the *Parliament Act of 1914*, but never came into effect due to the declaration of World War I. The fourth Irish Home Rule Act, implemented in 1920 as *The Government of Ireland Act*, proposed to divide the country into two separate entities that would operate within the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. By the time this act was passed, however, it had been deemed unworkable by many and it was recognized, even then, to be wholly out-of-touch with the situation on the ground in Ireland. In 1919, Irish nationalists had abandoned their demands for Home Rule in favour of a unilateral declaration of independence from Britain. This situation devolved rapidly into guerrilla war, the "War of Independence" (January 1919–July 1921) fought in Ireland between the Irish Republican Army and British security forces. In the end, it appeared that the struggle for liberty had, if anything, created greater internal strife, which instigated the establishment of an even harsher, more restrictive regime of imperial domination and control than anything Ireland had yet experienced. As was the case in England, attempts to expand the franchise, and to provide improved access to government, seemed to have resulted only in increased military presence, power, and prerogative.

Ulysses deals with the growing reaction in 1904 to British imperialism, authority, and the emergence of a model of disciplinary power that formed part of the British empire's apparatus for the security and regulation of populations under its control. It also examines rising militancy within the Irish nationalist movement and probes its underlying racist bias. Joyce's novel posits that concepts such as the nation and nationalist identity are largely cultural constructs produced at the intersection of a multitude of different institutional discourses, which combined, form the instruments of state power.

Conrad's and Joyce's texts display a keen interest—later taken up by Foucault—in examining the new, proliferating forms of power emerging in the societies in which they lived. Interestingly, all three writers encounter many of the same methodological concerns. A detailed examination of the texts suggests that in their analyses of power, Conrad and Joyce, like Foucault, out of necessity depart radically from any conventional means of representation of the effects of this form of social control. Discursive systems were Foucault's object of study. As Paul Rabinow points out in his introduction to *The Foucault Reader*, "Foucault never took these discourses from the inside. That is, he never posed the question of the truth or falsity of the specific claims made in any particular discipline" (12); rather, it was the effective operation of these disciplines that interested Foucault. Conrad's and Joyce's novels are similarly preoccupied with exposing the political frameworks and agendas underlying major shifts in conceptions about citizenship formulated in the various competing—liberal or conservative, progressive or reactionary—discourses of their day. Like Foucault, their objective is also not to judge or decide, but rather to discern and destabilize all notions of "truth" as constructed by various discourses. "[T]he real political task," Foucault proclaims, "in a society such as ours is to criticize the working of institutions which appear to be both neutral and independent; to criticize them in such a manner that the political violence which has always exercised itself obscurely

through them will be unmasked, so that one can fight them" (*HN* 171). This is also one of the prime objectives of both *The Secret Agent* and *Ulysses*.

II. Literature and the Nationalist Agenda

As Foucault argues in *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, all discourses, literature included, are constituted in relations of power. Political interests take part in the emergence, and insert themselves into the functioning, of all discursive practice. In the process, these interests—or forces—generate what Foucault calls "a will to knowledge" (also referred to as a "will to truth"). Discourse is a method of organizing and shaping knowledge in ways that provide it the status and currency of "truth." The establishment of "truth" relies heavily upon institutional support from multiple disciplines and discursive systems working together to define and dominate how individuals perceive and conduct themselves in the social world. This "will to truth" Foucault maintains, also produces "many systems for the control and delimitation of a discourse." These function as "systems of exclusion" (*AK* 220): they constrain the production of difference and dissent. They serve to determine not only what can be said but who has the right to speak; who is qualified; who has the rank, prestige, and competence; the knowledge, credentials, and the backing, to be what Foucault calls "a privileged enunciator of discourse" (*AK* 164). Literature is not exempt from these processes.

In its modern sense, literature is usually understood to have developed toward the end of the eighteenth century. It was about this time, due to a convergence of economic, political, and epistemological factors, that literature became institutionalized and began to assume its own distinct role within the overall confines of social discourse.[10] It is no accident that literature establishes its position in social discourse in remarkably close correspondence, chronologically, with the development of the modern concept of the nation. By the middle of the Victorian era,

with religion in decline due to the dislocating effects of industrial capitalism and the development of new theories of human evolution, a number of figures of authority, Matthew Arnold (1822–1888) prominent among them, began championing literature as a powerful ideological tool for the forging of a unified nation. The urgent social need, as Arnold recognized, was to find grounds for a common culture that could cut across social barriers to "Hellenize" or civilize the middle and lower classes, and at the same time pacify them, by instilling in them moral values and a new kind of spiritual bond, which would unite all citizens (under the guidance of the state). Thinkers from many different disciplines agreed that the production of appropriate reading material and the development of a nationally-coordinated school curriculum[11] would help integrate the people, instill respect for English values, foster national pride, support the economy, impede criminal behaviour, and aid generally in maintaining an ordered society.

In his widely read 1869 treatise, *Culture and Anarchy*, Matthew Arnold refers to "culture" as the "pursuit of our total perfection," and he extolls literature as the "means of getting to know, on all matters which most concern us, the best which has been thought and said in the world" (5). Arnold speaks of society in terms of class, each class having its own distinctive characteristics, the lower classes being prone to "bawling, hustling, and smashing" (80). Literature, in his vision, offers a way of taming such "anarchical tendenc[ies]," a way of replacing barbarism with culture (Arnold 57). As the embodiment of culture, literature constitutes an ideal vehicle for the education of the masses. Arnold recognizes and promotes the role of literature in the project of solidifying the nation. The novel in the form of the late nineteenth-century realist text was especially well suited to this integrative purpose. As a number of scholars have noted, it was not only its widespread distribution and popularity among all classes that made the novel an excellent vehicle for such an enterprise.[12] It was also its textual construction which both simulated a tidy causal-

chronological ordering and trajectory of events and provided an overarching narrative that was able to bridge seeming gaps between various discourses in order to resolve them by fashioning a meta-discourse that purported to represent morality, consensus, human progress, and truth As Marie-Christine Leps observes, "the moment in question is that of positivism, and its affirmation that the progressive development of knowledge would eventually allow 'man' to understand and dominate external reality" (141).

According to realist conventions, the narrator establishes the story's origin, delineates the narrative universe, shapes its progression, and provides coherence within the designated field of experience. In this role, the narrator occupies a position of dominance from which it is possible to judge and produce a consensus among various discourses articulated within the novel's sphere. The existence of such a position assumes the unity of human experience and affirms the possibility of producing of a meta-discourse that could explain all other discourses. Leps suggests that the position of the narrator is precisely that "held by the state, theoretically and pragmatically, in its recognized responsibilities toward all citizens ... and in its systematic attempts to supervise, normalize, and control the population as a whole" (141). Correspondingly, she notes, the "invisibility and ultimate passivity of the narrator in relation to the events it recalls is reduplicated in the reader of realistic narratives, who is also trapped into passivity by the conventions of realism" (142).

One defining feature of the realist text was that it purports to provide a direct window on reality. Conrad’s and Joyce’s novels challenge such presumptions. Like many Modernist writers, they display a heightened sensitivity to the idea that language does not mirror a single, fixed, objective reality. They recognize, rather, that "truth" is relative; that language is not transparent; that meaning and interpretation are dependent upon one's philosophical, moral, and ideological perspective. As a result, their works often foreground what they understand to be

the constructed nature of reality and the vested, mediated, contingent aspects of all discourse.

The belief that literature had (and has) an ideological role to play in the political process of forging a national consciousness had another important consequence. It "worked to limit the sayable in narrative fiction" (Leps 144). Literature, in other words, was expected to convey specific, established standards of taste and morality and only certain kinds of "civilized" subjects were deemed fit for inclusion. Specifically, this meant that many topics were taboo. Conventional forms of literary representation had to be followed, traditional gender roles and class distinctions had to be sustained, and established moral beliefs were required to be respected and continually re-endorsed.

As previously mentioned, when *The Secret Agent* was published in 1907, Conrad felt himself and his work dismissed on the grounds that he was an outsider in English society. In October 1907, he observed to Edward Garnett, "I've been so cried up [by reviewers] of late as a sort of freak, an amazing bloody foreigner writing in English ... that anything I say will be discounted on that ground by the public" (*CL* 3:488). In another letter, he complained, "[i]f I had made money ... I would be a baronet of the U.K. and provided both with a language and a country" (*CL* 4:108).[13] In these statements, Conrad makes clear his sense that, not only does he lack a public voice in his adoptive country, but his alien status in England and his perceived lack of authority to speak are closely related to his economic position. If Conrad is deeply affected by the question of the "right to speak," Joyce is similarly confronted by the limits of what was considered "sayable" in literature. Initial reception of the serialized version of Joyce's *Ulysses,* in particular the masturbation scene in the "Nausicaa" episode published in *The Little Review* in 1920, was marked by heated controversy and legal prosecution over the novel's so-called obscene content.[14] Questions as to what was sayable and who had the right to speak were key issues of

the day, both in a national political context and in the literary context. If literature in the late nineteenth century was established, at least partly, as an institutionalized discursive practice co-opted in support of a nation-building strategy, Conrad's and Joyce's novels problematize the restrictive processes involved in mounting such a nationalist agenda. Their works blatantly contest then-current aesthetic conventions and expose their arbitrary nature, proving, as the latter part of this chapter will show, that literary texts have transgressive potential for transforming controlled and censured ways of understanding the nation and the citizen's place in it.

III. The Fabrication of Delinquency

In *Discipline and Punish*, Foucault analyzes what he identifies as an important epistemic shift. In less than a century between 1757 and 1837, punishment by torture and execution disappeared as a public spectacle and were replaced by a far less transparent carceral system in which punishment became an "economy of suspended rights" (*DP* 11). Refusing to view this development simply as a progressive and more humane approach, Foucault insists on it being a signal of more disturbing processes at work, ones that would continue to transform society dramatically over the balance of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Two of the more significant aspects of the change, Foucault observes, were: first, that courts no longer judged the crime as defined by law; they began instead to judge the man, his motives, and his mental state. Secondly, the penalty fixed by law was no longer aimed at simple reparation for the crime, but rather at the reformation of the guilty person. These changes had several implications. The judicial institution began to distance itself from the execution of the punishment it imposed. "Those who carr[ied] out the penalty tend[ed] to become an autonomous sector" (*DP* 10). Judgments regarding the normality of the accused required outside expertise, and as a result, a multitude of external authorities (medical and other) began to assume

judicial decision-making power. In Foucault's words, criminal justice began to "function ... and justif[y] itself only by perpetual reference to something other than itself, by this unceasing reinscription in non-juridical systems" (*DP* 22). Finally, penal intervention ceased to be merely a measure to punish and reduce crime; it began to take on a corrective function. Its mission was to subject and transform bodies. Legal authorities no longer had immediate control over these procedures, which were adjusted and tailored to the individual as rehabilitation proceeded.

Power that possesses "administrative autonomy and punitive sovereignty," Foucault argues, "can wield it with a considerable amount of arbitrariness" (*DP* 247). What emerged from this evolving "criminological labyrinth," he states, was the notion of "the delinquent individual" (*DP* 252). Delinquency is a concept "created by the penal apparatus" (*DP* 277) to justify its diverse exercises of power. If the aim of the penal institution is to reform the individual, the system must look at a person's whole life "from the triple point of view of psychology, social position and upbringing." The introduction of biographical knowledge is important, Foucault claims, because it establishes the "criminal" as "existing before the crime and even outside of it." At this point, "one sees penal discourse and psychiatric discourse crossing each other's frontiers; and there, at the point of junction, is formed the idea of the 'dangerous' individual" (*DP* 252). The "delinquent" was to be distinguished from the "offender," specified not so much in terms of "law," as in terms of the "norm" (*DP* 253). Defining delinquency in relation to what was considered "normal" meant that rather than treating criminals as "'monsters', moral or political, who had fallen outside the social pact," they could be viewed as "juridical subjects" who could be rehabilitated "under the authority of medicine, psychology, criminology" (*DP* 256). In other words, the system could now bring such persons back into the citizenship fold, but would do so in an enclosed, separated, "centrally supervised milieu" (*DP* 277) where, under constant surveillance, they could be disciplined, "cured,"

contained, and controlled. This concentrated, managed, and disarmed illegality, Foucault concludes, "is directly useful." It is a means of neutralizing delinquents, rendering them "politically harmless" and "economically negligible" (*DP* 278). It also, however, serves another, more clandestine purpose. For Foucault, disciplinary power produces a carceral society, one that must identify, regulate, and—if necessary—punish "deviants" or "delinquents" in order to justify, define, and police norms and the normal. Most importantly, Foucault identifies in this process a new form of power, or set of power relations: "not [ones that are] localized between the state and its citizens," but ones that "go right down into the depths of society" (*DP* 27).

Foucault's great insight is that disciplinary power is exercised not just in prisons, but everywhere—in and by families, workshops, barracks, religious institutions, hospitals, and national governments. Defining delinquency in relation to what is arbitrarily deemed normal paves the way for the broader notion of "deviance" in which anyone who departs, even in the smallest ways, from the generally-accepted norm could be viewed as being in need of supervision and correction. Deviance, then, could be applied in relation to any number of class-based, gender-based, belief- or behaviour-based norms, all under a veil of morality and legality. Deviant persons thus become sufficiently "marked" that they could serve as a support for instilling into the public a "great fear" of people "who were believed to be criminal and seditious as a whole" (*DP* 275). Conrad's *The Secret Agent* works precisely on this premise. Vladimir's plan to influence "public opinion"—by provoking an "act of destructive ferocity so absurd as to be incomprehensible, inexplicable, almost unthinkable; in fact mad" (*SA* 30)—is dependent upon the knowledge that the English were already haunted by the "truly terrifying" (*SA* 31) spectre of the "bomb-wielding anarchist" that dominated then-contemporary European culture. This image of the "anarchist" had become indelibly ingrained in the English imagination. A number of factors were responsible. Ironically, one of the most influential was the stereotypical image the

English had cultivated of that brand of dynamite-throwing, militant Irish nationalist, represented by the figure of the Citizen in the "Cyclops" episode of *Ulysses*. While there was no actual connection between them, the two movements, one anti-government and one anti-imperialist, became fused in popular discourse.

Foucault's theories of deviance shed light upon the way in which several different discourses contributed to the development of such an understanding of the so-called anarchist threat in the late nineteenth century. His analyses of the ways in which discourse functions, understanding of disciplinary power, and concept of delinquency are key to grasping the full import and impact of Conrad's and Joyce's texts. Foucault's work also provides a theoretical basis for understanding the historical context, the power dynamics, and the rhetorical manoeuvring at play in the public and parliamentary wrangling that led up to the passage of the *Aliens Act, 1905.* The discursive patterns that emerged during the debates created a sharp divide between those deemed entitled to belong and those who were excluded. During the debates, the difficulties of the "Irish Question" became conflated in England with growing fears about expanding the franchise and widening access to immigration. Deeper scrutiny of the ways in which the divisions between citizen and alien were forged exposes the institutional bases for the dissemination of cultural knowledge, and highlights the inter-discursive practices at work in the manufacture of social beliefs and their entrenchment as cultural norms. It also serves to uncover the modes of production of hegemonic truth, that Conrad's and Joyce's novels initially inscribe, but then proceed to repurpose for other, more subversive, ends.

IV. Citizenship and Belonging in the Literary Texts

In his investigations of the ways in which human beings are made subjects (that is, people who both exercise agency and endure, even welcome subjugation), Foucault is less concerned with "regulated and legitimate forms of power in their

central locations," and more interested in the way in which power manifests "at its extremities, its ultimate destinations ... in its more regional and local forms and institutions ... where it is always less legal in character" (*TL* 96, 97). Like Foucault, Conrad and Joyce variously begin their examinations of the "functioning of power ... at its farthest reaches, where it installs itself and produces real effects." Deeply concerned though they are with issues of nationalist belonging, both *The Secret Ag*ent and *Ulysses* commence, not in the public arena, but in the private, domestic space of the home. The novels conduct what Foucault would call "an *ascending* analysis of power" starting, that is, "from its infinitesimal mechanisms, which each have their own ... trajectory," and following these to "see how [they become] invested ... and annexed by more global phenomena" (*TL* 99). Conrad and Joyce are concerned with the ways in which power installs itself in the various organizations that have the most direct influence over shaping the individual and his or her place in society—the family, the church, the school (parents, doctors, teachers, ministers)—in short, the immediate social entourage. They also study the specific mechanisms of exclusion that these agencies employ: the dividing practices, the methods of stigmatization, the surveillance procedures, their means of the production/ inculcation of knowledge, and their techniques of domination and control. Conrad's and Joyce's objectives, like Foucault's, are "to reveal the political usefulness of these forms of social management and to expose their underlying economic rationale" (*TL* 98). In both novels, it is the home (which later comes to be equated with the nation) that gives the reader a first glimpse of disciplinary power in operation.

In both *The Secret Agent* and *Ulysses*, the home is where relations of domination and subjection are initially established and naturalized. There is a marked distinction between those characters who wield power in the home and those who are disadvantaged by it. The opening lines of *The Secret Agent* place the home

firmly in the masculine domain, where *only a man*—even a mentally-challenged one like Winnie Verloc's "luckless" brother Stevie—can be left "in charge" (*SA* 14, 9). Home has been the site of "scenes of violence," where Stevie and Winnie exist as "small ... scared creature[s]," victims of their father's "rage." Demeaned by a man "wounded in his paternal pride," one child is branded a "slobbering idjut" and "the other a wicked she-devil" (*SA* 183). If Winnie's childhood home is a space of "brutal treatment" (*SA* 35), her marital home is a site of commerce—literally, a pornography shop—where women are reduced to objects of voyeuristic pleasure: sexually salacious "photographs" and "more or less undressed [figures of] dancing girls" (*SA* 9). Winnie herself is presented as a seductive collection of body parts: a "full bust," "broad hips," and "glossy dark hair" (*SA* 10-11). Her union with Verloc is portrayed as a business transaction, a "bargain," or "contract" (*SA* 196-7); her subjugation is the price of protection for herself, her brother and (for a time) her mother. Identified simply as "Mrs Verloc," Winnie lacks individuality in a patriarchal world that swiftly relegates her to the role of obedient wife. As her husband's "chief possession," she is bound by her "domestic duties" and obligated by her "loyal respect for his rights" (*SA* 137), which always means sexual "rights" for Adolph Verloc. As becomes clear in the course of the novel, the Verlocs' ostensibly "ordinary, normal, unremarkable marriage" amounts to little more than "institutionalized prostitution" (Lyon xxxiii).

In a succession of paragraphs describing the family home, masculinist language, laced with legal and economic overtones,[15] sets the stage for revealing the ways in which identity is constituted in discourse. It is important to emphasize that although both Winnie and Stevie are English, legally, neither of them would have been citizens in 1894. Both were subjects of the Crown; Winnie because she is a woman, and Stevie because he is financially dependent, not a man of property.[16] Conrad, though, delves below their legal status to reveal, ironically, that even as specific human beings, Winnie and Stevie are caught up in a matrix of power

relations which subjectifies and marginalizes them, on a private as well as on a public level. The immediate social systems in which Winnie and Stevie's lives are imbricated are shown to be the very means by which power articulates itself.

As Winnie is defined—and confined—by her gender, so is Stevie by his apparent "degeneracy."[17] His distractibility, compassionate nature, and extreme emotional susceptibility, which make him inclined to "frenzied outbursts" and what others characterize as "reckless naughtiness" (*SA* 11), result in his being restricted to domestic tasks. Labelled a "lunatic" (*SA* 121), he is "put to help wash the dishes in the basement kitchen, and to black the boots of the gentleman patronizing the Belgravian mansion" (*SA* 13-14). Home and school mould Stevie into a "very good and quiet" (*SA* 40), compliant young man. As the narrator ironically points out, under the nation's "excellent system of compulsory education, [Stevie has] learned to read and write, not withstanding the unfavourable aspect of the lower lip" (*SA* 13).[18] The oblique reference to Stevie's limited mental capacity is used to justify, in pseudo-scientific terms, the need to pacify and control the boy. Ironically, it is the very docility of Stevie's nature that ultimately leads to his premature and violent demise.

Much as their positions are represented as being fixed in the web of social discourse and established power-knowledge relations, Winnie and Stevie are also portrayed as potentially disruptive forces that must be contained. Winnie's sexuality—her "charms: her youth; her full rounded form; her clear complexion; [and her] unfathomable reserve"—are, according to the narrator, "a provocation to men" (*SA* 11). Her foreign appearance, with "traces of French descent," is part of her dangerous attraction. Stevie's reactions to "the dramas of fallen horses, whose pathos and violence induced him sometimes to shriek piercingly in a crowd," and his odd, largely harmless, but seemingly abnormal, unpredictable behaviours, are threatening to the public "which disliked to be disturbed by sounds of distress in its

quiet enjoyment of the *national* spectacle" (*SA* 13; emphasis mine). As someone who departs from the norm, Stevie not only unsettles the family home, he is taken as the symbol of an unruly force that jeopardizes the decorum and repose of the very nation. This allows society to categorize him as a "dangerous individual" (Foucault, *DP* 252), someone who must be controlled and reformed. In the overlapping discourses of law, economics, medicine, and human science, Winnie and Stevie are assigned certain fixed markers of identity that serve to isolate them from citizenship and belonging; the politics of nationalism are effectively relocated in the day-to-day transactions of social existence.

National politics are also directly linked to home in Joyce's *Ulysses*. Although set in a particular place, on a particular day—Dublin, 16 June 1904—the novel is concerned with depicting the confluence of historical forces that determined the political, economic, and socio-cultural circumstances of Irish life at that specific juncture. As Derek Attridge has observed, Joyce, growing up, "breathed in politics with the Dublin air." In an Ireland dominated by British rule and torn by divided responses to that very fact of existence, "politics was inseparable from family life, friendship, religion, and vocation." The artist that Joyce became, Attridge asserts, "cherished no illusions that politics could be walled off in a domain of its own" ("Foreword" xi). Irish nationalism and the struggle for autonomy from English domination were highly contentious issues in 1904 Dublin and a key subtext of the debates was a racialized understanding of "nationality." All Joyce's work, Attridge contends, "documents the effects upon the citizens of Dublin of their country's status as a subject nation, and bears witness to the terrible history of that subjection" ("Foreword" xi). The Irish predicament, in 1904 and 1922, lay at the heart of Joyce's concerns. It is thus fitting that in the parallel opening sections of *Ulysses*,[19] home, for both Stephen Dedalus and Leopold Bloom, is an occupied space from which they are barred. Home for Stephen is a tower, or "barracks" as it is once termed (*U* 1.19),

conjuring notions of a prison or military garrison. Home is a place to which he has given away the keys and to which he refuses to return. Bloom, like Stephen, is missing his "latchkey" (*U* 1.72) and his home will be effectively usurped by his wife's lover.

Vincent J. Cheng's *Joyce, Race and Empire* (1995) was the first full-length study to examine the role of politics in Joyce's work and it does so from the perspective of postcolonial and minority discourses. Cheng argues that *Ulysses* presents "a detailed and symptomatic portrayal of how cultural hegemony shapes the discourse and fabric ... of everyday life"; furthermore, he contends, "Joyce repeatedly demonstrates [the way in which] Orientalised constructions of Other peoples are a hegemonic discourse created by colonialism but propagated by popular culture" (170). Cheng shows how the Irish "were discursively endowed by Anglo-Saxonists with those traits most feared or despised in respectable English society—in a process similar to the way in which the English formed their images of other races ... in a universalized essentialism of the Other as primitive, barbaric, and uncivilized/uncivilizable." Further, Cheng argues *Ulysses* is founded upon "Joyce's acute awareness of precisely these discursive and anthropological dynamics" (151).

Indeed, today, it is not difficult to read the opening episodes of *Ulysses*, as Cheng has done, positing the Martello tower as a "synecdoche for the Irish condition without Home Rule," owned as it was, by the Royal War Office to whom the Irish paid rent "for what should in fact belong to them." As Cheng observes, this was "the exact dilemma of agrarian Ireland: having to pay exorbitant rents to British landlords just to live on one's own land." Home, for Irish-born Stephen Dedalus, is "occupied in ... the imperial sense" by the English anthropologist, Haines, "come to Ireland to profit from another form of colonialist exploitation," studying the "primitive 'wild Irish,' " their customs, and folklore (Cheng 151). Haines, the son of a man who made his fortune "selling jalap to Zulus" (*U* 1.156-57), is aided in his pursuits by "native

collaborator" Buck Mulligan, willing Irish "informant" peddling "tribal cultures" to "the ethnographer/explorer's Museum Mentality" (Cheng 150-51, 153). In episode two of *Ulysses*, Stephen is portrayed as "servant to the omnipotent Master ... prostituted to a job he doesn't like, working for an Ulsterman (Deasy), at a hegemonic school—a colonial subject to an imperial sovereign, ... paid in a currency that is linguistically the metonymic coin (sovereigns, crowns) for ... Royal English power" (Cheng 155). As is the case in *The Secret Agent*, social norms are shown to be transmitted through institutions such as the English school system, in which "the real processes of cultural hegemony operate" (Cheng 162). In this setting, education, money, and power are tightly intertwined: the boys, Stephen notes, "aware of my lack of rule and of the fees their papas pay" (*U* 2.29). Only *English* history, literature, and sports are taught and, as Cheng suggests, "Arnoldian discourse gets inculcated into the youngsters ... so that ... the values and hierarchies of the conquerors will be adopted voluntarily and consensually, without the need for imposed force" (162).

Analyzing *Ulysses* through a postcolonial lens, Cheng not only exposes the kind of essentializing discourses to which the Irish were subjected by the British, he also reveals the ways in which such narrow-minded racist hierarchies and ethnocentrisms were taken up and unwittingly perpetuated by the Irish nationalist cause. Cheng's cogent argument about the "Cyclops" episode is that the Citizen's militant brand of Irish nationalism and staunch defence of Celticist arguments for racial purity simply replicate the stereotyping prejudices upon which the British colonial enterprise was founded. Cheng shows how Joyce's writing insistently unmasks and critiques such essentializing discourses. In this regard, Cheng and other postcolonial scholars have opened up a rich and productive vein in the understanding of Joyce's work. In the early twentieth century, such arguments were crucial to public debates about citizenship and alienage. Cheng's analyses, however, depend heavily upon a hierarchical understanding of power, one which is built on a

fear of foreignness. Such an explanation of power relies on stark, binary oppositions to feed stereotyped constructions of "insider" and "outsider," "native" and "foreigner." Although these are crucial features of the operation of power, thinking of power *only* in this manner can be limiting.

Foucault's work allows one to conceive of power differently, in deeper and more nuanced terms, and to gain a more subtle appreciation of how discourse works in literary texts. Foucauldian theory provides a basis for understanding how knowledge comes to be produced at the matrices of multiple discourses. Building on Cheng's theories, I argue that Conrad's and Joyce's texts go beyond the simple problematic of fixed or circumscribed identities to reveal a more significant aspect of power relations—not just those through which dominant and minority groups or societies interact—but those which invest themselves in every aspect of day-to-day social existence. Both authors expose the utilitarian nature of knowledge production as it applies, not only to subjected peoples who formed part of the colonial enterprise, but also, to the everyday exigencies of governmental operations and the ways these affect both the national interest and all citizens in their ordinary, everyday lives at home. The following section begins with the suggestion that Conrad's and Joyce's texts mimic the way in which social discourse operates. It goes on to consider the ways citizenship and belonging came to be defined in social discourse at the turn of the twentieth century and it examines how the functioning of institutional discourse in the public realm is reflected in the literary texts.

V. Social Discourse 1880-1914

During the period between 1880 and 1914, as Haia Shpayer-Makov has observed, the idea of anarchism captured and subsequently came to wield enormous power over general public opinion. Throughout Britain and Europe, it became the subject of media reports, parliamentary debates, police investigations, and

international conferences. Anarchists were perceived, not as "home-grown," but rather as foreign in origin. It is Shpayer-Makov's contention that "[c]onsidering its numerical weakness and limited ideological influence, the anarchist movement seized the European imagination with surprising force" (487). The dominant media image of the anarchist was that of an "unscrupulous criminal" and the movement as a whole was depicted as "a conspiracy intent on unleashing revolutionary violence upon the world." This picture of anarchism, Shpayer-Makov insists, was partial and distorted: "Most of the anarchists were neither criminals nor advocates of violence. Yet it was precisely through this image that anarchism penetrated public consciousness and exerted its most noticeable impact on society" (487).

In Britain, the anarchist movement was particularly small, non-violent, and generally law-abiding. It emerged in the early 1880s and had all but disappeared with the advent of the First World War. It was not a consolidated movement but one that was made up of several, disparate organizations and groups that borrowed strategies from one another. Anarchism referred to a political philosophy that advocated a stateless society, voluntarily self-governed by non-hierarchical institutions. To its supporters, the anarchist label reflected the belief that "authority was the root of all slavery and exploitation and ... only an anti-authoritarian, decentralized, and voluntarist society could ensure human freedom, dignity, and harmony" (Shpayer-Makov 493). Although these groups were dedicated generally to achieving a complete transformation of society and to working outside governmental systems, their focus was primarily pacifist, concentrated on the education of the masses through reason. Oratory and printed propaganda were their main tactical resources. As John Quail notes in *The Slow Burning Fuse* (a detailed history of British anarchism in these years), the only person killed by an anarchist weapon in Britain was the French anarchist Martial Bourdin, who died while mishandling his bomb in Greenwich Park in 1894.[20]

Various historians have examined the reasons behind this gap between the public perception of the British anarchist movement and its actual constitution and activities.[21] At the time Conrad was writing, the British empire was at the zenith of its power; however, the second Boer War (1899–1902), as George Dangerfield wryly observed, was giving England a taste of "how much blood it cost to run an empire" (Dangerfield 21). In the closing decades of the nineteenth century, British supremacy abroad had begun to be tested by other nations and ethnic groups, and this in turn was starting to stir political controversy at home. In England, various challenges to Britain's industrial and maritime hegemony resulted in a "heightening of patriotic fervour, pride in Empire, and xenophobia. In such periods of insecurity," Shpayer-Makov contends, "negative stereotypes prosper." The growing intensity of nationalist discourse was predicated on a perceived threat to "all that bourgeois-liberal culture held in reverence" (492). The anarchist stereotype developed in direct antagonism to the English public's steadfast faith in the standards of law, order, discipline, and respect for authority. Anarchy came to represent the opposite of all English values, the antithesis of everything for which "civilized" society stood. British historian L. P. Curtis observes that from the 1860's to the 1890's, the notion of the English "race" tended to be discussed in terms of empire. Imperialist discourse "tended to reinforce ethnocentric assumptions about the genius of the Anglo-Saxon people for ordering their lives and those of other people." It also bolstered the conviction, Curtis claims that "all other races ... required highly centralized or authoritarian institutions in order to prevent violent political and social upheaval" (31-32).[22] This was particularly true of the English attitude towards the Irish.

Not surprisingly, the rise of protectionist sentiments in England coincided with a period of renewed revolutionary activity in Ireland. Centuries of British rule had crippled Ireland economically. By *The Act of the Union* in 1800, England had merged the two kingdoms and their parliaments as a strategy for averting Roman Catholic

rebellion. The Act left Ireland wholly at the mercy of British policy. The Irish were given a negligible fraction of the seats in parliament at Westminster, rendering them a weak minority. Over the next eighty years, England established an intricate system of government, military occupation, and constant espionage as a means of holding Ireland in check. A rigid program of anglicization was imposed, beginning with a scheme of compulsory education in national schools, where the Irish language was forbidden and Ireland's history was banned from the curriculum. Terrible famine, miserable living conditions, and mass evictions of poor Irish tenant farmers by English landlords in the 1840's were the cause of hundreds of thousands of deaths from disease, starvation, exposure, and attempted flight on "coffin ships."[23] All these social issues contributed to the emergence, in 1858, of the Fenian movement.[24] The Fenians were dedicated to the establishment of an independent Irish Republic. Unlike the English anarchists whose goals were generally pacifist, the Fenians, motivated by a profound sense of injustice, were prepared to use violence as a means of obtaining their objectives. Their deep-rooted anger against the British government spilled over in the latter part of the nineteenth century, reaching a crisis point at the time of the Fenian dynamite campaigns of the 1880's.

It is important to point out that there were different factions within the Fenian movement. In 1870, a group of Irish politicians formed the Home Rule League, which subsequently constituted itself as a political party. The Home Rule Party won fifty-nine seats in the 1874 general election. In 1877, Charles Stewart Parnell assumed its leadership.[25] A strong nationalist and highly charismatic leader, Parnell was able to mobilize widespread public support and work within the parliamentary system. An 1882 deal with then British Prime Minister William Gladstone raised hopes of a peaceful settlement of the Irish question. Not all Fenians, however, were prepared to accept this kind of conciliatory approach. Between 1881 and 1885, several extremist factions of the Irish Republican Brotherhood orchestrated terrorist bombing

campaigns, targeting several famous London landmarks.[26] On 6 May 1882, two British officials were fatally stabbed in Phoenix Park.[27] Although the Irish Party repudiated the murders, and although a small group calling themselves the "Invincibles" was found responsible and four of them hanged, "revenge was taken upon the whole nation" (Macardle 52). The subsequent *Crimes Act* of 1882 gave the police broad powers of detention, search, and imprisonment without trial. In 1886, the first Home Rule bill was defeated in the House and parliament was dissolved. A second *Crimes Act* of 1887 made any form of Irish association illegal and the press was restrained from reporting any such activity. Five thousand persons were charged under this Act in three years. "Ireland was governed by something not much different than martial law.... [I]t was a system calculated to provoke revolt" (Macardle 52-53). English reaction to the Irish nationalist movement's more fanatical elements resulted in the consolidation of a stereotype depicting the Irish as "terrorist ape-men" (Curtis 21).[28] These Irish were frequently branded as "savage" and "wild"; moreover they were often compared to "aboriginal peoples in Africa, the antipodes, and the Orient" as well as other supposedly "primitive" or "barbarian" types. They were considered to be "uncivilizable" and "incurably violent" (Shpayer-Makov 491). Curtis highlights the "infantalizing" and the "feminization" of the Irish race which, he suggests, led to an "assumed connection ... [with their] unfitness for self-government" (*Anglo-Saxons* 61-62). The Fenian dynamite campaigns of the 1880's cemented the image.

Years later, in his 1907 essay, "Ireland, Island of Saints and Sages," James Joyce would observe that it was inhumane treatment that caused the Irish to vow to take radical action and level "force against force" (*U* 12.1364) in their fight for Home Rule. Shattering the notion that the Irish were untameable brutes responsible for their own suffering, Joyce makes it clear that it was the English who were to blame:

> Nations have their egos, just like individuals.... For so many centuries the

> Englishman has done in Ireland only what the Belgian is doing today in the Congo Free State.... She enkindled its factions and took over its treasury. By the introduction of a new system of agriculture, she reduced the power of the native leaders and gave great estates to her soldiers. She persecuted the Roman church when it was rebellious and stopped when it became an effective instrument of subjugation. Her principal preoccupation was to keep the country divided.... [It is not hard to understand] why the Irish citizen is a reactionary and a Catholic, and why he mingles the names of Cromwell and Satan when he curses. For him the great Protector of civil rights is a savage beast who came to Ireland to propagate his faith by fire and sword. (*CW* 166, 168)[29]

Nevertheless, by the late-1880's, the Irish stereotype had become indelibly stamped in public consciousness. It was for this reason, Shpayer-Makov points out, that when the anarchist movement first appeared in Britain, "it was greeted with the stock rhetoric and imagery commonly applied to the Irish, the socialists, and other 'deviant' groups." Anarchism and the Irish separatist cause were often linked in social discourse, despite their lack of any formal or ideological connection. Indeed, anarchism itself was explicitly portrayed, in a number of conservative newspapers including the *Daily Express*, the *Daily News*, the *Evening News* and *The Spectator*, "as an epidemic disease originating outside Britain" (Shpayer-Makov 492, 500).[30]

Many different forms of deviance came to be grouped under the anarchist label and as time went on they took on increasingly pejorative connotations. Anyone departing from the norm, whether it be due to race, gender, class, or creed, was suspected of "anarchist" leanings and assumed to be intent upon destroying the very fabric of civil life. The creation and subsequent conflation, in social discourse, of these various conceptions of deviance in the mid-to-late nineteenth century were

evidence of a new and evolving form of power: one that emerged at the nexus of a number of institutional sites; one that involved the combination and collaboration of many different discursive practices; one that was still backed by, but no longer relied strictly upon, government authority and the force of law. In Foucauldian terms, the fabrication of this image of the anarchist as a "madman," "criminal," and "delinquent" served a purpose. Once ingrained in the public imagination, it created a division between civilized society and its so-called enemies and gave people something to fear. It also fortified the public's conviction that society must be protected. It was this belief that in large measure paved the way for the passage of the *Aliens Act,* 1905.

Multiple institutional disciplines and discourses—journalistic, political, scientific, legal, and literary discourse key amongst them—were involved in framing the stereotypical image of the anarchist, or what Foucault refers to as "the myth of a barbaric, immoral and outlaw class" (*DP* 275). It is interesting to follow the interaction between these various discourses to understand how they shaped public opinion and to forecast how Conrad and Joyce absorb and narrativize the process. Conrad's and Joyce's works reflect the ways people and concepts become elided in discourse. In the manner that anarchism became fused in public debate with concepts of foreignness and disease, anarchism in *The Secret Agent* becomes linked with terrorist activity in Europe—with international "Red Committee" men who are "classed as dangerous"—and also, by association, with the growing number of immigrant groups infiltrating Britain "like the influenza ... from the Continent" (*SA* 95, 5). Similarly, in *Ulysses*, race and religion are equated with alien status: as the Citizen proclaims, "we want no strangers in our house" (*U* 12.1150-51). Jewishness is equated with money lending, swindling and corruption: "all kinds of jerrymandering," "robbing" and "perpetrating frauds" (*U* 12.1575, 1580-81); with uncleanliness, "those jewies does have a sort of a queer odour coming off them" (*U*

12.452-53); and infestation on a national scale—foreigners, "filling the country with bugs" (*U* 12.1141-42).

Various scholars have demonstrated how Conrad deliberately blurs dates in his story to confuse the Martial Bourdin incident with the earlier, far more sustained period of Fenian terrorist activity which formed part of the Irish campaign for independence.[31] The actual Greenwich bomb attempt took place in 1894, but Conrad's story is set in 1886, the time at which the Fenian outrages reached their peak. The Home Secretary in Conrad's tale wonders if the incident is "the beginning of another dynamite campaign" (*SA* 106). This conflation of dates mirrors the way in which various negative racial, social, and cultural stereotypes—English images of the Irish; and Irish images of the racialized "other"—became merged under the "anarchist" label in the public consciousness. Anarchism, via these means, was broadly re-defined in terms of "delinquency," and as Foucault discerned, the fabrication of the concept of delinquency in relation to that which is deemed "normal" had an ulterior motive: it "produce[d] the delinquent as a pathologized subject"—one that could be "supervise[d]" and "controlle[d]" (*DP* 277-78). Surveillance, discussed in more detail later in this chapter, is a key theme of both *The Secret Agent* and *Ulysses*.

The media helped condition the public to understand anarchism in deeply negative terms. The "anarchy" label was regularly used to insinuate a state of extreme disorder in Ireland and to promote fear as to what might happen if the dissidents were not contained. On 25 September 1886, for example, *The Spectator* reported on "The Anarchy in Belfast," alluding to "disorder," "riots," "mobs," and "civil disturbance." The article insisted that "order ... be restored" because the disturbances were "a significant sign that ... fears of religious and race warfare breaking out under Home-rule were not without very strong grounds for their foundation" (1265-1266). Another article in *The Times*, 15 October 1901, linked well-

known German extremist Johann Most with the Fenian cause, suggesting that his outrageous preachings inciting "the murder of rulers, Royal or Republican," if not harshly condemned, would trigger the Irish "incendiaries" to commit similar shocking crimes on English soil (7).[32] The majority of newspapers, liberal and conservative, projected a specific image of the anarchist. Whether described as a terrorist or as a common-law offender, the anarchist's behaviour was almost always "criminal." As Shpayer-Makov observes, "the ascription of criminality was not confined to anarchists found guilty of illegal acts, but to anarchists in general." Often, she claims, "anarchists were targeted as probable culprits in crimes where suspects were lacking" (496, 497).

In the case of the Greenwich bombing, the press connected the perpetrator, Martial Bourdin, with the Autonomie Club, a known anarchist meeting place in the Tottenham Road district, a neighbourhood heavily populated by immigrants. An article in the *Graphic*, run under the alarmist headline "Dynamite Everywhere" (24 February 1894) stated categorically: "There seems to be no sort of question that Bourdin was a member of the inner-circle of Anarchism—the crack-brained assassins who have lately been so active in France and Spain" (202). The incident was immediately positioned as a conspiracy with international connections and clear evidence of the threat posed by foreign immigrants. Seemingly closer to the truth was David Nicholl's explanation in his pamphlet *The Greenwich Mystery*.[33] Nicholls posited that Bourdin was duped into carrying the explosives by his brother-in-law, H. B. Samuels, editor of *The Commonweal*[34] and an *agent provocateur* in the pay of a covert branch of the English Criminal Investigation Department. Nicholl's theory: Samuel's intention was to manufacture a terrorist incident on a scale grand enough to shock the English public out of its complacency about the presence of anarchist sympathizers in its midst. Conrad's novel reflects Nicholl's version of the event.

Punch, the satirical British weekly magazine,[35] often utilized popular literary allusions in its depictions of the Irish. A cartoon labelled "The Irish Frankenstein," run 20 May 1882 in the immediate wake of the murders of two prominent English politicians in Phoenix Park, Dublin (Fig. 1), features a huge ape-like creature (Charles Stewart Parnell/the Fenian movement) as Frankenstein's monster, clutching a bloody dagger, towering over a cowering, respectable, well-dressed Englishman. Another, dubbed "The Irish Vampire" (24 October 1885), evokes tales of gothic horror (Fig. 2).[36] Images of the Irish devolved rapidly into those of "apes," or other subhuman species, lacking in the dimensions of morality and rationality. Cartoonists regularly drew Irishmen as "swarthy, stooping figures, semi-idiots, drunks, or even as monsters who threatened the health of the body politic" (Lebow 46). A particularly vivid example, "Two Forces: Britannia *vs. Anarchy*," (29 October 1881) depicted Hibernia (Ireland) as a vulnerable young woman shielding herself from a rock-throwing, ape-faced Irish agitator representing "Anarchy." Her righteous defender is the regal figure of Britannia, who wields the sword of the law while crushing the banner of the Irish Land League under her feet (Fig. 3). Such cartoons insinuated that when it came to dealing with Irish insurrection, nothing less than "civilization" and "the rule of Law" were at stake. Portrayals often took on strong racist or misogynist overtones. "The Modern Medusa" (*Punch*, 9 December 1893) pictured "Civilization" as a knight in armour brandishing the shield of "Justice" over the harpy "Anarchy" (Fig. 4). An American magazine, *Harper's Weekly*, otherwise known as the "Journal of Civilization," ran an item it called "The Ignorant Vote" (9 December 1876) which displayed a black slave and a white ape (clearly identifiable as an Irishman) seated equally balanced on a set of scales, suggesting interchangeability in terms of their respective identities (Fig. 5) and sub-human propensities.

In the latter part of the nineteenth century, the expansion of the middle class, the establishment of a national system of education, the rise of literacy, and the

rapid growth of cheap, mass-produced daily newspapers, all made possible the widespread dissemination of information. Popular journalism was an ideal vehicle for the promulgation of nationalist ideology and the relentless recycling of racist and xenophobic stereotypes. As Foucault points out, the emergence, in this period, of the trend towards daily reporting of criminal *faits divers*, produced "an enormous mass of 'crime stories' in which delinquency appear[ed] both as very close and quite alien, a perpetual threat to everyday life, but extremely distant in its origin and motives." By virtue of their frequency and redundancy, these types of stories conjured "a sort of internal battle against the faceless enemy," a high stakes "war" which desperately needed to be won if culture and civility were to be preserved (*DP* 286).

Newspapers take on an important function in both Conrad's and Joyce's texts. The pervasive influence of the press in *The Secret Agent* is signalled by the fact that key elements of the plot—the bomb incident, the initial clues to the identities of the people involved, the first gruesome details of "man's body blown to pieces" (*SA* 59), and the *dénouement* involving the "Suicide of [a] Lady Passenger" (*SA* 228)—are all delivered via newspaper report rather than being narrated directly. Repeated over and over in the text—a fragment from the article announcing a woman's death is quoted fourteen times in the concluding chapter—these reports simulate the ways in which official knowledge comes to be produced. In *Ulysses*, newspapers (purportedly objective) are a prime source of information for the citizens of Dublin and the basis for much of the conversation between the men in Barney Kiernan's pub.[37] It is noteworthy that the two newspapers cited, *The Telegraph* and *The Freeman*, are under the same ownership and the novel's protagonist, Leopold Bloom, works as a canvasser for newspaper advertisements. These facts suggest the way in which the circulation of knowledge is bound up, politically and economically, with capitalist relations of power. While Conrad and Joyce proceed to parody and problematize the role of journalistic discourse in the manufacture of hegemonic

truth, their novels nonetheless start by mimicking the way in which it operates. In both *The Secret Agent* and *Ulysses*, the circulation of the news is figured as the "flow of garbage" (Zimring 335). Conrad's narrator refers to "wares from the gutter ... damp, rubbishy sheets of paper soiled with printers ink" (*SA* 65). In Joyce's text, journalistic discourse is symbolized by the "crumpled throwaway" paper (*U* 10. 1096) wending its fluid course throughout the town, its headlines advertising an upcoming talk by a proselytizing Evangelist preacher: "Elijah is coming.... Is coming! Is coming!! Is Coming!!!" (*U* 8.13, 15). Constant repetition, a technique frequently played upon in both novels, is shown to be a persuasive means of producing truth.

Political discourse also contributed to racial stereotyping; immigration was a growing political issue. Social historian Paul Knepper reports that by 1890 "some 30,000 Jews had congregated in ... [London's] East End, in an area of about two square miles across the districts of Whitechapel, St. George's-in-the-East, and Mile End Old Town." Overcrowding, substandard housing conditions, and crushing penury led to a steady rise in social tensions, growing domestic violence, substance abuse, and prostitution within these immigrant communities. As a proportion of the British population, the number of immigrant Jews remained quite small; nevertheless, Knepper observes, "the 'aliens question' became a significant [topic of] political and social [debate]" (297). In 1887, British member of parliament Colonel (and later Sir) Howard Vincent (the first Director of the Criminal Investigation Department of Scotland Yard, 1878–1884)[38] assembled a public meeting to petition the government for the exclusion of Jewish immigrants. Howard maintained the Jews had "foisted the 'sweating' system onto British labour [and] created a housing shortage in cities from London to Leeds" (Knepper 297). In 1891, well-known journalist Arnold White set up the Association for Preventing the Immigration of Destitute Aliens, claiming that "in other countries, the diseased, the anarchist, the criminal, and the pauper are not admitted" (White, *Destitute* 180). In such descriptions, one begins to see the

overlapping of legal, economic, medical, and ethical discourses, all of which serve to support and sustain the concept of deviance. Over the next few years, these men's efforts evolved into a full-fledged campaign against alien immigration in general and Jewish immigration in particular.

Nationalist discourse and the anti-alien cause are central concerns of both *The Secret Agent* and *Ulysses*. One of the leading proponents of restriction of immigration was Dr. (later Sir) Robert Anderson. Anderson is of particular interest because he represents a crucial link between Conrad's and Joyce's novels. As Norman Sherry's meticulous scholarship has shown, Anderson (in combination with Sir Howard Vincent, mentioned earlier) was a model for Conrad's Assistant Commissioner of the Department of Special Crimes in *The Secret Agent*. In 1866, as the result of family connections which gave him special knowledge of the Fenian movement, Anderson was recruited to undertake intelligence work at Dublin Castle (the seat of British rule in Ireland until 1922). As Robert Hampson explains, following the Fenian bombing at Clerkenwell Prison, London in 1867,[39] Anderson was moved to the Irish Office in London. In 1888, he was appointed Assistant Commissioner of Police and Director of the Criminal Investigations Department at Scotland Yard. That same year, the series of brutal killings that became known as the Ripper murders occurred in the area of Whitechapel. Involving a number of women who resorted to prostitution because of endemic poverty, these murders received unprecedented media coverage that, as John Marriott reveals, fed public perceptions of Whitechapel as a notorious den of immorality.[40] Anderson, himself, made clear his belief that the perpetrator lived in the immediate area and that "he and his people were low-class Jews." Anderson was still in charge of the Criminal Investigations Department at the time of Martial Bourdin's attempted bombing of the Royal Observatory in Greenwich Park, London on 15 February 1894.

Growing antipathy towards newcomers was fuelled by the emergence of the increasingly popular trend towards nationalism, as Arnold White observed: "[t]hroughout the civilized, and in parts of the uncivilized world, a strange movement is taking place towards the crystallization of national life from native elements only" (1). Historically and generally speaking, "natural-born British subjects," regardless of the status of their parents, were those "born within the dominion of the crown of England" (Blackstone 1:354).[41] Nationality was acquired through birth on the territory (*jus soli*) or through a citizen mother or father. About this time, however, despite the fact that Britain was continuing to expand its imperial reach, the English themselves were being coached, by anti-alien factions, to be more and more xenophobic. Anti-alien groups advocated *jus sanguinis* or "blood right"—nationality at birth is determined by ethnic lineage and descent alone—as the main principle of nationality law. In England, such racist thinking caused anti-alien lobbyists to propose legal measures as a means to control borders and delimit the nation within (Glover 26). Although there were certainly dissenting voices—Winston Churchill, for one, championed "the old, tolerant and generous practice of free entry and asylum to which this country has so long adhered and from which it has so greatly gained" (qtd. Winder 198)—continuous pressure from the restrictionist factions in Parliament prompted the Conservative government, in 1902, to appoint the Royal Commission on Alien Immigration. The Commission's recommendations led, in turn, to the piece of legislation that became known as *The Aliens Act,* 1905.

Having examined the workings of the anti-alien rhetoric involved in the immigration debates, David Glover suggests that by taking the figure of the anarchist as a key symbol of social and political disorder, the anti-alien movement was able to mobilize an "extraordinary range of supporters." The movement's influence, he states, was strengthened by its ability to draw on a variety of cultural resources, "forging links between popular writing and serious journalism, and

between legal theory and racial science" (Glover 24). The ultimate success of those forces agitating for immigration control, Glover submits, was at least in part due "to the way in which they were able to establish a sharp break in the popular understanding of British history" (23). In particular, he references the report published by the Royal Commission on Alien Immigration in 1903 (preparatory to the drafting of the 1905 legislation), which he states "drove a wedge between past and present, separating what it saw as the *skilled immigrants* of yesteryear from those *unskilled masses* currently at the gates" (23, emphasis mine).[42] This argument, he claims, had serious political overtones: it was "a ploy consonant with that sundering of the human biological continuum so central to racial thinking" (23).[43] Paul Knepper supports this thesis: the image of anarchists in Britain, he contends, "was shaped by a radicalized conception linking anarchism with Jewishness and criminality" (296).

Scientific "evidence" was summoned to support these various forms of racialized discourse. In the late nineteenth century, theories of racial hierarchy were being deduced from such questionable systems as physiognomy (the "art" of judging character by facial and physical features) and phrenology (the "art" of determining human characteristics by cranial measurement). On such criteria, the Irish were considered to be among the lower orders of race. Conrad's and Joyce's texts both make reference to the widely embraced theories of Italian criminologist and physician Cesare Lombroso (1835-1909) who, drawing on the fields of social Darwinism, psychiatry, and eugenics, pedalled the concept of "anthropological criminology." This school of thought touted the notion that criminality was genetically transmitted and that someone "born criminal" could be identified by physical defects which confirmed certain savage or atavistic proclivities. In *The Secret Agent*, Lombroso and his pseudo-scientific theories are summoned as evidence that mentally-challenged Stevie's features are "[t]ypical of [his] form of degeneracy" (*SA* 40). Similarly, in *Ulysses*, Denis Breen is pronounced "balmy": "look at his head ...

some mornings he has to get his hat on with a shoehorn" (*U* 12.1045-47). Such beliefs contributed significantly to assumptions that anarchist tendencies were inherent and immutable features of racial identity which, in turn, reaffirmed the notion that social, political, and economic conditions were not a contributing factor.[44] Joyce attacks this line of reasoning when he argues in "Saints and Sages" that Ireland has been made "the everlasting caricature of the serious world.... The English now disparage the Irish because they are Catholic, poor, and ignorant," he states, whereas in fact "Ireland is poor because English laws ruined the country's industries" (*CW* 167, 168). Joyce maintains that these stereotypes originate in the longstanding oppression that the Irish endured under cruel Penal Laws, which forbade Irish Catholics to vote, sit in government, own land, or even to practice a trade or profession.

One of the disquieting aspects of the *Aliens Act,* 1905 was that it began to mark a legal distinction, not only between those who were considered citizens and those who were regarded as alien, but also between those who were deemed "desirable" and those labelled "undesirable." Such demarcations, as Conrad's and Joyce's novels demonstrate, are a product of discursive systems and the political interests that underpin them. Prior to the passage of *The Aliens Act,* 1905, the movement of peoples across borders had been largely unrestricted. Earlier Acts, such as the 1793 British *Aliens Bill*, were typically temporary measures, intended to bar certain "dangerous" or "objectionable persons" associated with specific political insurrections—the French Revolution, the massacres of Paris, for example—from access to Britain's borders (Sibley 39). *The Aliens Act,* 1905 was the first permanent law to define alienage and delineate it as a national problem. *The Aliens Act,* 1905, in Glover's words, "sought to undermine radically the legal protection and support available to migrants and refugees" (24).

Under the Act, an "immigrant" was defined as "an alien steerage passenger" (8:1), a measure purposefully designed to target a specific working class of person. Its first provision, the "Regulation of Alien Immigration," dictated that immigrants to the United Kingdom could only enter at a limited number of supervised "immigration ports." These ports would be staffed by immigration officers, supported by medical inspectors, who had the power to reject any immigrant who appeared to be "an undesirable." The latter was described as someone who did not have "the means for decently supporting himself and his dependents." Undesirables also included anyone considered a "criminal," a "lunatic" or an "idiot"; or anyone with any type of "disease or infirmity"—in short, anyone likely to be a burden, "a charge on the rates," or a "detriment to the public" (I:1,3). Although the act made an exception for refugees fleeing religious or political persecution, and stated that such refugees could not be refused entry on "the ground merely of the want of means" (I:1), it left open numerous possibilities for the ejection of these people on other specious grounds. The act also dealt with "undesirables" already living in the country. Section Three, "Expulsion of Undesirable Aliens," stated that any immigrant who was subsequently convicted and imprisoned for "any felony, or misdemeanor"; who, within a year of arrival, received "parochial [poor] relief; who was vagrant "without ostensible means of subsistence; or who was "living under insanitary conditions due to overcrowding"—a misfortune few immigrants could easily avoid—could be summarily deported.

The most serious issue, however, concerned the powers assigned to newly created "Immigration Boards," which were established, *in lieu* of a court of law, to rule on matters of appeal. These Boards were given wide decision-making powers. Prospective immigrants, on the other hand, were denied the benefit of legal counsel at Board hearings. At least one historian, Jill Pellew, has looked at the *Aliens Act,* 1905 from a bureaucratic perspective (from the perspective, that is, of those

charged with carrying it out). Administration of the Bill, once passed, fell mainly to the Home Office. As Pellew points out, this flew in the face of the recommendation by the Royal Commission that alien administration would be better handled at the "local" level, rather than as a "central government" "policing operation" (372). Many who had opposed the legislation had done so believing that the Act "would be impossible to administer without an army of inspectors," and that "the notion of an immigration department with wide powers of investigation" (371-72) was a dangerous one. The language of the Act was imprecise. Referring, as it did, to vaguely defined categories of "undesirables" meant that the burden of interpretation fell to unelected bureaucrats responsible for its administration. This raised the possibility of "nameless officials wielding ... arbitrary bureaucratic power" (376), putting the executive branch of the Home Office in a position potentially to overstep greatly the bounds of normal due process afforded by law. Interestingly, Pellew notes that this responsibility devolved to an "early generation of highly educated civil servants who were turning bureaucracy into a first class profession ... [and who] were well aware of their by-then orthodox role of executing legislation" (370). It was with these grave concerns in mind that Mackenzie Chalmers, permanent under-secretary of state, expressed his opinion that passage of the Act marked "the reversal of our policy for the last two hundred years as to the right of asylum and the law of extradition" (qtd. Pellew 372).

The *Aliens Act,* 1905 was the only the first of a series of government measures at the beginning of the twentieth century designed to define and direct the movements of aliens both across and within Britain's boundaries. Subsequent Aliens Acts brought in even more restrictive policies. Under the *Aliens Restriction Act,* 1914, for example, foreign immigrants could be obliged to "reside and remain within certain places or districts" and they could be barred from other areas. Furthermore, anyone could be accused of being "alien ... or an alien of a particular class," with the

"onus" of proving otherwise "falling upon that person" (*Aliens Restriction Act*, 1914, S4). By such criteria, everyone was a potential alien.

Up to this point, this chapter has focussed on the way in which individuals—in both the literary texts and the public domain—are defined in discourse, the way in which fictions of identity are produced, and the politically polarizing effects of such discursive practices. Conceptualizing power in such black and white terms is, however, exclusionary. It erects hard dividing lines and constructs fixed markers of alienage and belonging, which allow for the domination, but also the ostracization, of one group by another. Thinking about these processes only in simple binary, antithetical terms is perhaps to apply too blunt an instrument to dissecting the finer, subtler, more multifaceted manoeuvrings of power that Conrad's and Joyce's novels trace, stage, and parody. Foucault's work demonstrates how fields of knowledge produced by various intersecting discourses are linked to the processes of identification, normalization, regulation, and subjugation of human beings in both the public and the private domains. The following sections further examine the treatment of these themes in the literary texts.

VI. Conrad's Subversive Subplots

National security is the central theme of Conrad's novel and it is secret agent Adolph Verloc who is charged with the role of protecting the national interest. As it quickly becomes clear, however, it is not the *general public*, "*[a]ll these people* [that have] to be protected" (emphasis mine), but rather, the interests of the dominant classes that require safeguarding. As the narrator observes,

> Protection is the first necessity of opulence and luxury. They had to be protected; and their horses, carriages, houses, servants had to be protected: and the source of their wealth had to be protected in the heart of the city and the heart of the country; the whole social order favourable to their hygienic

> idleness had to be protected against the shallow enviousness of unhygienic labour. (*SA* 9)

The "social order" installs itself at multiple levels in Conrad's text, regulated by the interconnectedness of the net-like[45] organization of power and institutional discourses that maintain it. As the passage quoted above suggests, it is money and position which must be preserved and an envious underclass which must be repressed. Tellingly, despite her repeatedly stated, firm conviction that "these things don't bear much looking into," it is Winnie Verloc who offers the most trenchant insight into the way in which this "social order" operates. Responding to what she perceives to be Stevie's misplaced trust in the police as "a sort of benevolent institution for the suppression of evil," Winnie exclaims: "'Don't you know what the police are for, Stevie? They are there so that them as have nothing shouldn't take anything away from them who have'" (*SA* 133). It is Winnie, a working-class woman, subjugated by power, who recognizes the discriminatory class basis upon which the notion of criminality is formed.

Foucault echoes Winnie's words when he states in *Discipline and Punish* that, "[i]t would be ... hypocritical or naïve to believe that the law was made for all in the name of all; that it would be more prudent to recognize that it was made for the few and that it was brought to bear upon others; that in principle it applies to all citizens, but that it is addressed principally to the most numerous and least enlightened classes; that ... [its] application does not concern everyone equally" (*DP* 276). It was early in the nineteenth century, Foucault explains, that crime, previously believed to be "a potentiality ... inscribed in the hearts of all men," came to be "almost exclusively committed by a certain social class" (*DP* 275). It was about this same time, he notes, that certain popular movements reacting to political injustices, economic crises, and increasing industrialization, began to gain momentum. These were essentially class struggles involving the peasant and labouring classes who, out

of desperation, began to revolt in small ways over harsh new laws, inequitable taxation, extortionary rents, unfair wages, and intolerable working conditions. The legal result was the development of a whole series of misdemeanours (vandalism, absenteeism, petty theft, minor acts of aggression), aimed at the regime of property and production rights set up by a growing middle class that was profiting handsomely from the new mercantile economy. Although there was initially "no massive movement," people were nevertheless both "confronting the law and confronting the class that had imposed it" (*DP* 274). These illegalities were thus viewed, by the dominant classes, as a potential threat to the status quo. As such they served as support for fomenting public fear of a rising criminal class bent on political revolution that must, at all costs, be suppressed.

The anarchists in *The Secret Agent* form a group of so-called delinquents, drawn from that lower social class to which criminal traits were ascribed. The reader first encounters them in Verloc's home in Soho, a neighbourhood that was "the traditional settling place of successive waves of immigrants, [an area] associated with the politically radical, the foreign, the artistic, and with prostitution and pornography" (Lyon 234). Although they spend endless hours talking, propounding their revolutionary theories, and churning out political propaganda, and though they operate on the shady side of the law (at least one, Michaelis, the-ticket-of-leave man, has spent time in prison), Conrad's anarchists are fundamentally harmless. As Stephen Arata suggests, "Conrad's revolutionaries are at once ludicrous and oddly irrelevant to much of the story's action" (176). Even Karl Yundt, "the famous terrorist" himself, "had never in his life raised personally so much as a little finger against the social edifice (*SA* 42). Yet Michaelis, Yundt, and Ossipon are all portrayed as lower class, "foreign scoundrels" (*SA* 112), grotesquely deformed and degenerate criminal types. One is described as a "moribund murderer" (*SA* 38); another as a kind of specimen of the negroid race, with "crinkly yellow hair," a "flattened nose,"

and "thick," ... "prominent lips" (*SA* 39, 43). The group's outside connections, their loose affiliation with suspected subversive elements, "working men's associations" and the "mysterious Red Committee" (*SA* 40, 41), are sufficient reason for society to brand them as delinquents, deviants, and criminals. As Ossipon recognizes, however, criminality is neither genetically transmitted nor contagious; rather, it is socially engineered: "'Teeth and ears mark the criminal? Do they? And what about the law that marks him still better—the pretty branding instrument invented by the overfed to protect themselves against the hungry? ... That's how criminals are made'" (*SA* 41). Foucault emphasizes this very point when he suggests: "it is not crime that alienates an individual from society, rather crime itself is due to the fact that one is in society as an alien, that one belongs to that 'bastardized race' ... to that 'class degraded by misery whose vices stand like an invincible obstacle to the generous intentions that wish to combat it.'" Furthermore, he concludes, "in the courts, society as a whole does not judge one of its members," it is a class "with an interest in order" that judges a class "which is dedicated to disorder" (*DP* 276).

When Conrad's novel first appeared, it was formally linked by critics to a fictional genre known as the "dynamite novel," now largely forgotten, but extremely popular in the 1880's and 1890's (Arata 175). The dynamite novel pitted class against class and traded heavily on the fundamental Arnoldian opposition between culture and anarchy. Plots were typically driven by "sinister, all-powerful figures" and the central conceit was "the scope and danger of anarchist activity in England" (Arata 176, 175). As Arata suggests, it would be "more accurate to call *The Secret Agent* a parody than a refinement of the dynamite novel" (175). Conrad's work, however, does more than simply satirize the revolutionary world. The role of the anarchists in Conrad's text is neither to reinforce nor merely to mock the notion that a delinquent class of individuals threatens society with revolution, but rather, it is to show how delinquency, or "controlled illegality" is, as Foucault later recognized,

"an agent for the illegality of the dominant groups" (*DP* 279). The anarchists in *The Secret Agent* represent the kind of marginalized and controlled group to which Foucault refers. All live on the fringes of established communities, virtually penniless, in parasitical relationship to the society they purport to criticize, and all are continuously, closely monitored by the police. As Chief Inspector Heat assures the Assistant Commissioner, "'[t]here isn't one of them, sir, that we couldn't lay our hands on at any time of night and day. We know what each of them is doing hour by hour'" (*SA* 69). Branding the anarchists as delinquents provides the necessary justification (under the guise of legality) for continual observation and monitoring by the authorities.

Foucault points out that the use of delinquency would not have been possible without the development of police supervision. It was the "direct institutional coupling of police and delinquency," he maintains, that allowed "criminality [to become] one of the mechanisms of power" (*DP* 283). In *The Secret Agent*, it is Chief Inspector Heat, "the man armed with the defensive mandate of a menaced society" (*SA* 68), who best grasps how this process works. Heat perceives that surveillance is the key: social order and civil obedience depend on constant monitoring of the populace. Heat believes thieves and other petty criminals are "his fellow citizens gone wrong because of an imperfect education," which suggests both the need for their supervision and the possibility of their rehabilitation. Heat appreciates, perhaps better than anyone, that "thieving was not a sheer absurdity. It was a form of human industry" (*SA* 74). For many, it is simply a means of survival. As Foucault notes, however, prison is where the disciplinary process for these so-called delinquents starts and it is the prison record that justifies the ongoing surveillance of these individuals when they are released.

Yet, Foucault's key premise in *Discipline and Punish* is that, if the function of the penal apparatus is to reduce crime, "the prison ... [has been] the great failure of

penal justice" (264). As opposed to rehabilitating criminals and eliminating crime, prison reinforces delinquency and encourages recidivism. The prison experience turns criminals inwards, upon their own milieu, marginalizes them as a group, and brands them as delinquents. Once released, these individuals are placed back into the community where "all the results of non-rehabilitation (unemployment, prohibitions on residence, enforced residences, probation ... the police record)" virtually guarantee a return to criminal activity. If this is the case, Foucault wonders, "what is served by the failure of the prison?" (*DP* 281-82, 272). As Chief Inspector Heat recognizes, "'the instincts of a burglar are of the same kind as the mind and instincts of a police officer. ... They understand each other,'" he suggests, "'which is an advantage to both, and establishes a sort of amenity between them'" (*SA* 74). Foucault's response is similar. Socially engineered circumstances, he claims, pave the way for a former prisoner to become complicit with the authorities in "the organization of a hierarchy, partly official, partly secret ... compris[ing], apart from its 'open agents'—inspectors and sergeants—its 'secret agents' and informers, who were motivated by fear of punishment or the prospect of reward" (*DP* 281-282). Heat's acute observation that the petty criminal and the police officer are "[p]roducts of the same machine" (*SA* 74) resounds strikingly with Foucault's conclusion that "[p]olice and prison form a twin mechanism; together they assure in the whole field of illegalities the differentiation, isolation and use of delinquency" (*DP* 282).

The notion of delinquency, then, is useful in that it becomes the justification for surveillance of individuals or groups of individuals who threaten to disturb the "national peace" or challenge the status quo. In Conrad's text, as is the case in *Discipline and Punish*, the concept of delinquency—initially applied to the so-called criminal class—is gradually broadened and extended to incorporate anyone who deviates from the arbitrarily defined social "norm." Thus, it is not only suspected "foreigners" and "anarchists" who are labelled, isolated, and managed by overlapping

discursive practices that brand them as "alien" and bar them from belonging, it is also any ordinary subject who departs from the desired norm, that must be disciplined and kept in line. Such logic provides the means by which the social order is policed and access to citizenship denied.

In Conrad's text, Sir Ethelred, the Home Secretary, represents power. Everything about Sir Ethelred is over-bearing and over-sized. Referred to several times as a "great personage", he has a "massive intellect" and is "vast" in both "bulk and stature" (105). His great and venerable authority is derived, at least in part, from his august English lineage: "the unbroken record of that man's descent surpassed in the number of centuries the age of the oldest oak in the country" (*SA* 105, 106). In this passage Sir Ethelred—carefully named for King Æthelred II, who was disparagingly referred to as "Un-raed," meaning "unready" or "unwise"[46]—is linked metaphorically with a nation founded on principles of birthright and heredity, and thus his character provides Conrad a bridge for exploring the abuse of power in these contexts.

Chief Heat's methods involve the use of spies, informants, and secret agents, but also, the need to conceal his sources from his superiors. For Heat, reasonable suspicion is enough to establish guilt. Defending his decision to detain Michaelis as a suspect in the Greenwich bombing, Heat reasons, "'[i]t was perfectly legal to arrest that man on the barest suspicion. It was legal and expedient on the face of it'" (*SA* 95). Heat's superior, the Assistant Commissioner (whom Conrad, as previously mentioned, modelled on Sir Robert Anderson), is also not above the unauthorized use of such extra-legal procedures, lobbying Sir Ethelred discreetly for "'a free hand'" in dealing with the assumed perpetrator of the Greenwich bombing (*SA* 104). The Home Secretary's instinctive response to such unsanctioned use of authority is to distance himself from responsibility with the repeated insistence: "'Only no details, pray. Spare me the details'" (*SA* 106). It is Sir Ethelred, the supposed emblem of

"legality" and "the establishment incarnate," who, as Támaz Juház has observed, deliberately "cultivate[s] a selective way of seeing." In this context, Juház maintains, "it is no accident that Conrad has chosen to symbolically correlate Ethelred's weak vision with a repeated desire to avoid emotional particulars, ... with a wish to confront only a carefully censured version of political reality" (123-24). Censured and selective constructions of reality are also Joyce's target in the "Cyclops" episode of *Ulysses*.

In shining a light on such intentional blindness and illegitimate use of authority, Conrad reveals a perturbing vision of power, one that operates surreptitiously in a zone somewhere outside the law. In the course of a foray into this legal grey zone, the Assistant Commissioner becomes "unplaced." His descent into the "murky, gloomy" street is like a "descent into a slimy aquarium" and he seems to end up "nowhere in particular." In the "locality that assimilate[s] him," his identity becomes equated with that subversive foreign element that the English perceive as such a dire threat: he could pass for any of the "queer foreign fish ... flitting round the dark corners" (*SA* 114). The Italian restaurant he enters is "baited with a perspective of mirrors," and in its "immoral atmosphere," not only does the Assistant Commissioner seem "to lose ... more of his identity," the patrons themselves have "lost in the frequentation of fraudulent cookery all their national and private characteristics." They are "denationalized, ... [n]either was their personality stamped in any way, professionally, socially or racially" (*SA* 114-5). In this crucial scene, placed at the very centre of the novel, Conrad suggests that in a world of "fraudulent cookery," everyone is diminished. Those in power become no different than the so-called scoundrels they vilify; while those who consume the tainted cuisine find their humanity reduced, their individuality a myth. In its depiction of power, its *exposé* of the interests of the governing class, its use of questionable police tactics, and its world of informers, spies, and *agents*

provocateurs, Conrad's novel attacks the kind of corruption and illegitimate use of authority he believed Sir William Harcourt, Robert Anderson, and the police symbolized.

Conrad's novel asks: "What is ... Criminal?" What is crime?" (*SA* 59) and the answer it provides is that these are concepts, engineered to suit the needs of those persons in authority, manipulated to protect vested interests, and used to define and control deviance by reference to socially but arbitrarily determined norms. Conrad's text replicates the ways in which individuals, norms, and the concept of deviance are constituted in discourse. It reveals not only how power functions, but more importantly, why it functions as it does. *The Secret Agent* exposes the political, economic, and social usefulness of the fabrication of delinquency in the construction of the concept of citizenship. It paints a vivid picture of what Foucault would later call a disciplined or carceral society. (As discussed in more detail in the following section, society under discipline and constant surveillance also forms the backdrop for the "Cyclops" episode of *Ulysses*.) In defining and separating the aberrant from the so-called "normal," the notion of delinquency provided the necessary justification for both the institution of socially acceptable norms of behaviour and the bureaucratization of publicly defensible methods for dealing with "deviance." Foucault makes the point that the concept of the "delinquent" allowed "the institutional specification of a new type of supervision—both knowledge and power—over individuals who resisted disciplinary normalization" (*DP* 296). The production of deviance thus helped delineate, defend, and police the national "norm." The establishment of a normative conception of Englishness, regulated by disciplinary technologies which evolved gradually across multiple institutions—inserting themselves persistently into discursive practice at all social levels—paved the way for a highly restricted definition of citizenship and tightly controlled access to its privileges.

VII. Joyce's Critical Fictions

It is significant that the "Cyclops" chapter opens with an unidentified narrator talking with a policeman, "old Troy" of the Dublin Metropolitan Police (*U* 12.1). The police are a ubiquitous, peripatetic presence in *Ulysses*; a synecdoche for the circulation of disciplinary and also imperial power. "Squads of constables" (*U* 8.406) march through the streets, the "heavy tread of raincaped shadows" (*U* 14.1066-67) interrupts Bloom's encounter with Bridie Kelly, a young prostitute, and a "horsepoliceman" (*U* 8.425) chases Bloom when he gets caught up in an anti-Boer War demonstration. Kimberly Devlin notes that the role of the police in *Ulysses* becomes clearer if we keep in mind that "the force was a colonialist disciplinary regime more than a criminalist one" (Devlin 52). In other words, as is the case in Conrad's text, the role of the police is not so much to prevent crime as to monitor the social, political, and even the private domestic lives of the Irish people. Bloom pictures Molly at the window in her torn négligée, a street "sergeant grinning up" (*U* 6.79). "[P]olis in plain clothes" (*U* 15.370-71) patrol the brothel district in the "Circe" episode. Spies, informers, and double-agents also populate this world. Thinking about Corny Kelleher, a fellow citizen in Barney Kiernan's pub, Bloom muses: "Never know who you're talking to" (*U* 8.441). Someone who is apparently an Irish nationalist-cause sympathizer might easily, like "James Carey that blew the gaff on the invincibles," be a paid government spy (*U* 8.442-43).[47] Police "tout[s]" (*U* 5.14) were everywhere.

In 1904, Dublin was the most heavily-policed city in the United Kingdom.[48] Both the Dublin Metropolitan Police and the Royal Irish Constabulary were administered from the central site of Dublin Castle, a military garrison made up of British army regiments in Dublin, supplemented by a network of fortified posts scattered throughout the country. Dublin Castle's operation was variously described as a "system of espionage" and "the best machine ... ever invented for governing a

country against its will" (Macardle 53). Macardle states that the Royal Irish Constabulary had "intimate knowledge" of the country's inhabitants, that it "reported to the Castle from the most remote villages, and that plainclothes detectives watched all places supposed to be visited by prominent [Irish] Republicans." Into the Republican organization, she asserts, "were sent spies, paid informers and *agents provocateurs*" (Macardle 319). Joyce's Dublin reflects Macardle's account of an Ireland under imperialist surveillance. It also, however, gestures toward Foucault's broader concept of a carceral society, inasmuch as disciplinary power in Joyce's text is evident everywhere, exercised not just by the police or through force of law, but through multiple institutions and discursive practices. A number of scenes in "Cyclops" reveal the way in which domains of knowledge produced by various discourses work together to normalize and regulate individual lives.

In terms of the narrative arc of the novel, "the "Cyclops" chapter represents the climax of Joyce's extensive engagement with issues of nationalism and nationalist belonging. Barney Kiernan's pub, where the "Cyclops" sequence unfolds, represents the nation in microcosm. The pervasive visible and undercover presence of the police suggests a country subordinated by imperial rule. Awareness of this fact of Dublin life lends the episode a sense of confinement and containment. Alluding to Foucault, Mark Wollaeger suggests that "each site of surveillance [in *Ulysses*] becomes a synecdoche for the way social and political institutions promote the internalization and dissemination of discipline" (132).

The public space of the pub itself is populated entirely by men, and there is a clear division between those who are accepted and considered to belong, and those who are excluded on the basis of gender, race, religion, or other form of "deviance." Any female presence in the episode is limited to women as objects of the men's conversations. Women are either treated derisively—Denis Breen's wife, described as "a wretched woman trotting [after her husband] like a poodle" (*U* 12.255)—or as the

subject of gossip and sexual innuendo (Molly, "the fat heap [Bloom married] ... a nice old phenomenon with a back on her like a ballalley" (*U* 12.503-4)). Not only is the female point-of-view conspicuously missing, but the perspective on women generally is that they are wanton temptresses who are to blame for all of Ireland's troubles: "The strangers, says the citizen. Our own fault. We let them come in. We brought them in. The adulteress and her paramour brought the Saxon robbers here. ... A dishonoured wife ... that what's the cause of all our misfortunes" (*U* 12 1156, 1163-64). The direct reference is to Devorgilla, the woman with whom Dermod MacMurrough, organizer of the first Anglo-Norman invasion of Ireland, eloped. By extension, however, it includes both the fictional Molly Bloom and the historical Katharine O'Shea, English mistress of Charles Stewart Parnell (whose political downfall was widely attributed to their long-time affair).[49]

The mentally-challenged are similarly scapegoated. Denis Breen, who is starting to become unhinged, is cruelly mocked as " a stuttering old fool, ... a bloody old pantaloon in his bathslippers" (*U* 12.253-54). Like Stevie's stammering attempts to communicate in *The Secret Agent*, Breen's inability to articulate his grievances results in both frustration and isolation. It is Leopold Bloom, however, who is the main target of the bigotry and intolerance of the society in which he lives. Despite having been born and raised in Ireland, Bloom is branded a "foreigner," and also a "Jew" (though he lacks a Jewish mother and has twice undergone Christian baptism). Spotted "prowling up and down outside the pub" (*U* 12.300-1) at the beginning of the episode, Bloom is treated as an outsider. Judged, labelled, and marginalized even when he is inside the pub, he is hounded out mercilessly at the end. The entire "Cyclops" episode is related from the perspective of the anonymous narrator who is a mean-spirited, chauvinistic, anti-Semite. The portrayal of Bloom's character is strictly limited either to the narrator's myopic point-of-view or to the disparaging opinions of other men in the pub. Parodic passages often stand in for Bloom's own

words. A comic passage in highly exaggerated medical language cuts off Bloom's well-meaning attempt to explain the physical phenomenon of post-mortem male erection. As was the case in Conrad's text, all these so-called "deviant" individuals lack voice, both figuratively in the context of the episode, and metaphorically in the context of the nation.

In the masculine world of the pub/nation, the man known as the "Citizen" is clearly in charge. Joyce's "Citizen" is understood to have been modelled on Michael (or "Citizen") Cusack (1847-1907), ardent Irish nationalist and founder of the Gaelic Athletic Association (1884), that "notably contentious" organization "dedicated to the revival of Irish sports" previously banned by the English (Gifford 316). Like Sir Ethelred in Conrad's text, everything about the Citizen is massive and overbearing. Gigantism is a central theme of the "Cyclops" episode, and in the Stuart Gilbert schema[50] "muscle" is its symbolic organ. In his depiction of the Citizen, Joyce explores the systemic violence triggered by the kinds of totalizing racist, xenophobic, and misogynist thinking that the imperialist and nationalist agendas produced or encouraged and men like the Citizen propounded and helped propagate. If the pub represents the patriarchal face of the nation, the attitudes of the men in it mirror the kinds of racist, colonialist thinking that was prevalent at this time when imperialism was at its height. Talk of blowing sepoys from cannons, merciless naval floggings, atrocities committed in the name of religion, and rape and pillage in the Congo, forms the subject of much of the men's conversation. Agitation and apprehension build as the conversation turns to capital punishment, the inhumane slaughter of cattle, the Keogh-Bennett boxing match, and the barbaric execution of an African American man: "Black Beast Burned in Omaha, Ga." (*U* 12.1324-26). The pub's pugilistic atmosphere reflects the political tensions building, both between Britain and its colonies and among the nations of Europe, in the years leading up to the break-up of empire and the catastrophic consequences of World War I.

Joyce structures the "Cyclops" episode around a series of thirty-three stylized, interpretive passages that frame the various conversations of the men in the pub. These passages comment on the narrative, usually in hyperbolic language and a parodic manner. As Don Gifford explains, they interrupt the narrative line "parodying various pompous, sensational, or sentimental literary styles" (314). On the one hand, Joyce uses these textual insertions to mimic the way in which numerous discourses—legal, scientific, political, religious, literary, and journalistic—work, separately and together, to protect and promote the interests of the dominant class. The episode enacts the manner in which these discourses are disseminated by different disciplines, become ingrained in popular culture, promulgated by a sensationalist press, and memorialized in myth. In "Cyclops," however, Joyce also engages in a sustained assault on nationalist thinking, essentialist constructions of identity, and revivalist historiographies generally—be they Anglo or Irish. It is his skillful sequencing of dialogue and these interpolative passages that serve subtly to subvert these processes. The episode reveals how such totalizing discourse blurs, ritualizes, sentimentalizes, and glosses over the brutal realities of the exercise of power.

Conversation in the pub, enlarged and extended by the novel's interpretive passages, illustrates the way in which various discourses are co-opted in support of a desired version of reality. One discussion, sparked by an incident reported in the press, revolves around the British navy's strict enforcement of discipline by corporal punishment. Religious discourse is used to justify the practice: "a parson with his protestant bible" (*U* 12.1335) oversees and sanctions the brutal procedure. In another conversation, political, religious, and economic discourses are all linked in support of imperialist aims and then mocked as self-serving means for covering up the horror of English crimes in the colonies. In this instance, the Citizen inveighs against the English, their defense of the merits of mercantilism, and their

sanctimonious claims to the Christian mission of spreading God's word. Such pious rationalizations are exposed as mere camouflage for baser sexual, political, and economic interests: "raping the women and girls and flogging the natives on the belly to squeeze all the red rubber they can out of them" (*U* 12.1546-47). The notion of *jus sanguinis* as the basis for political privilege is mocked as no more than an excuse for the abuse of economic power: "The fellows that never will be slaves,[51] with the only hereditary chamber on God's earth ... [t]hat's the great empire they boast about of drudges and whipped serfs" (*U* 12.1347-50). As Harry Blamires has suggested, the parodic passage that follows this description aptly turns the Apostles' Creed into "an act of faith in brutality" (130). As the episode builds to its climax, the arguably legitimate use of capital punishment for treason morphs into something far more disturbing as justice turns vigilante and the account of a hanging shifts into a vivid description of a lynching. The positioning of these scenes suggests the way in which power comes to exceed its legitimate bounds in law—the way in which authority that was once *de jure* becomes *de facto*. In "Cyclops," the mission of law as civilizing force devolves quickly into the reality of law as licensed brutality.

Various forms of literary and journalistic discourse are elicited, mimicked, and lampooned throughout the episode. Several of the passages are presented in a style filled with *clichés* from contemporary journalism and cheap or pseudo-scientific literature. Some, such as the one that depicts Dublin's market as a boundless hub of world trade, are rendered in mock-epic style; others, including an extended account of the execution of an Irish revolutionary, are written in the form of sensationalist newspaper reports. The press itself is presented as being tied, both politically and economically, to the promotion of a nationalist (and masculinist) agenda. The Citizen refers to the Irish *Independent* as a "blasted rag ... the old woman of Prince's street ... the subsidised organ. The pledgebound party on the floor of the house" (*U* 12. 220, 218-19). The supposed objectivity of journalism is thus severely undermined.

Medical and scientific discourse are summoned in reference to a debate over the politics of sport, Joe Hynes arguing that regular physical exercise promotes "the best traditions of manly strength and prowess" (*U* 12.911). Bloom counters with a warning of the damage "violent exercise" can do to the "heart" (*U* 12.892). Vincent Cheng points out that sports were a serious issue in the Irish nationalist and English imperialist agendas. The leader of the Gaelic Athletic Association, Michael Cusack (the Citizen), was "militantly engaged" in having "such English games as soccer, rugby, field hockey, and polo" prohibited in Ireland, just as the English had legally forbidden the playing of Irish games in Phoenix Park. Cheng also, however, pointedly recalls Stephen Dedalus's earlier reference to "games on the playing fields of Eton [being] training grounds for a male ideology and tradition of blood and warfare" (205, 207). Like literature, sports are an important part of an aggressive, masculinist, nationalist campaign that is supported and sustained by multiple inter-discursive forms of logic. Joyce's text enacts the way such discursive practices work, but it also infers the lethal extent of the destruction they can cause.

In the course of the "Cyclops" episode, the Citizen articulates a Celticist argument for Irish racial purity, which claimed that only Gaels were truly Irish. An interpolation broadens the discussion in the pub to level of a large public meeting which culminates with the chairman, the "veteran patriot champion," singing "the immortal Thomas Osborne Davis' ... *A Nation Once Again*" (*U* 12. 916-18).[52] The song (Fig. 6) extols a vision of breaking free from imperialist bonds and re-establishing Ireland's true and time-honoured nationalist roots. As anthem, it conjures ritual and heritage; as poetry, it evokes not just revolutionary passion, but also the naturalness and inescapability of this return to nationalist origins. Stanza after stanza, the repeated refrain, "A Nation once again!" suggests the way in which continual repetition establishes tradition. The lyrics themselves progressively weave numerous different discourses into the mix: religious, social, and ethical justifications

for the argument are combined with a pseudo-history of democracy and republicanism, lending credence to a timeless concept of the nation, granting it the both authority of Western tradition and the sanction of divine providence. The "Cyclops" episode's construction of the nation cleverly reflects these inter-discursive patterns and practices.

> In his assessment of the Irish nationalist argument, Cheng asserts, "the fact is ... there never has been such a thing" as a pure Irish nation:
>
> The terms "Irish" and "Ireland" as *national* signifiers are purely retrospective constructs imposed upon an earlier (and unsuspecting) history by "imagining" for the island a historically continuous community with a homogeneous national character, whereas such a sovereign community has never existed in history. But history rewrites itself as one long Irish tradition (with mists of inevitability) in which the differences between Milesians, Gaels, Celts, and even Danes and Spaniards get written out; in which the Anglo-Irish get bracketed; in which Jews get written out altogether (in spite of their material presence in one's midst); in which the purity of Irish race is proclaimed in spite of ... the many racial/ethnic interminglings of the extended, pluralistic contact zone known as Ireland. (216-17)

The Citizen's version of the nation is just such an arbitrarily constructed and essentializing one. The many lengthy lists in the "Cyclops" episode serve to underscore this point.

Purporting to record the history, geography, and greatness of Ireland—the ageless, unvarying, enduring purity of its nature—the lists mimic, on the one hand, the Citizen's grandiose conception of the Irish nation. They catalogue the many beautiful natural features of the country, likening it to a garden of Eden, teeming with goodness and bounty. As well, the lists provide a long line of invented "Irish heroes and heroines of antiquity" (*U* 12.176) and these they memorialize in fantastic

scenes of pomp and circumstance. The whole process is seemingly accorded divine blessing, as a vast procession of Catholic saints and religious figures reciting the Latin liturgy descend upon Barney Kiernan's pub. On the other hand, however, Joyce's lists serve ruthlessly to undercut the Citizen's vision. They are so inflated that "Irish" heroes eventually incorporate Adam and Eve, Julius Caesar, Benjamin Franklin, Beethoven, Buddha, and Lady Godiva. As Kelvin Knight suggests, Joyce's lists anticipate the "exclusive and narrow-minded definition of the nation espoused by the Citizen and undermine it in advance" (224).

In this regard, Joyce contests the *very idea* of the nation. The lists in "Cyclops" speak to questions that form a key subtext of *Ulysses*—what is a nation and who qualifies as a citizen? The narrative's recitals contain groupings so diverse that there is literally nowhere such categories could ever co-exist, except in what Foucault called "the non-place of language." What is impossible about these kinds of lists, Foucault asserts, "is not the propinquity of the things listed, but the very site on which their propinquity would be possible" (*OT* xvi-xvii). This idea correlates with political theorist Benedict Anderson's study of nationalism. In *Imagined Communities*, Anderson proffers the thesis that it is in imagination only that the idea of a nation as a cohesive community exists. Although this idea of "fraternity," this idea of belonging to a nation, commands such power as to induce "many millions of people," not only "to kill" but to "willingly die for such limited imaginings" (Anderson 7), the concepts of "nation, nationality, nationalism" he insists, are nothing more than "cultural artefacts," products of discursive and ideological formations which emerged only in relatively recent history. Anderson's work explores the reasons why these ideas— which have proven "notoriously difficult to define" and about which "plausible theory is conspicuously meagre"—"have aroused such deep attachments" (3, 4). Like Joyce's lists, which exist only in the non-place of language, Anderson's concept of the nation lives only in the non-place of the imagination. It is, in the end,

an artificial creation. Joyce's lists are a means of revealing the constructed nature of the Citizen's essentialist, homogeneous, and totalizing notions of the nation, national character, and national identity.

While Joyce's lists attempt to capture the immense plurality of experience (and parody the Citizen's narrow, racist vision in the process), they do not pretend to capture the totality of experience. In fact, as Knight has suggested, Joyce's lists and interpolations go much further than simply exposing all the different templates, or discursive spins, that can be imposed on reality. Knight contends that Joyce's work posits the more radical idea that the world can exist without a template, without a fixed underlying pattern or reality—"'without law and geometry'" altogether (Foucault qtd. Knight 222). Instead of striving for a semblance of totality," Knight asserts, Joyce demonstrates "the futility of attempting to represent an entire nation" (Knight 221).

Interestingly, Leopold Bloom's honest attempt to define the nation gets bogged down in its own seeming inconsistencies. According to Bloom, "[a] nation is the same people living in the same place.... Or also living in different places" (*U* 12.1422-23, 1428). Bloom's explanation, however, reveals the very contradictions and complexities that the concept of the nation entails. There is no pinning it down to a single, durable definition—just as Bloom himself cannot be reduced to a one-dimensional stereotype of a "Jew." In the same vein, Denis Breen cannot be defined by his mental degeneration nor, as the "Penelope" soliloquy shows, can Bloom's wife Molly be branded only as an "adulteress." It is significant that Bloom is a Protestant, a Catholic, *and* a Jew; both a saint *and* a sinner; a native *and* an outsider. Similarly, it is symbolic that his wife is from Gibraltar, the famous crossroads of civilizations, cultures, and religions. In the end, Joyce's portrayal of Bloom resists the "one-eyed" account the anonymous narrator seeks to peddle. Unlike the majority of men in the pub, Bloom *is* able to see things from more than

one perspective. During the "Cyclops" episode, Bloom participates in a number of discussions on a variety of topics, each time offering a novel point of view. Bloom is a figure for the endless possibilities of interpreting the world. His constantly meandering thoughts and stream-of-consciousness associations defy the imposition of design or easy categorization. Interestingly, even the idea of "love," which Bloom opposes to "insult and hatred" (*U* 12.1485, 1482), is scrutinized and problematized in this (and other) chapters, through various meditations on its theme, including the recurring theme of Molly's infidelity. It is Bloom's ability to empathize with other viewpoints, to examine alternative ideas, and to shift perspectives, which renders him heroic.

Toby Loeffler notes that literary critics have had a tendency to approach Joyce in terms of his vehement opposition to Irish nationalism. Yet to reduce Joyce and nationalism to a simple, binary relationship, Loeffler suggests, is to ignore the more nuanced nature of Joyce's work. "Despite the [nationalist] discourse it putatively negates," Loeffler claims, *Ulysses* persistently attends to "the modern, discursive production of Ireland as a culturally autonomous, historically legitimate nation" and "inalienable member of the international community" (30, 48). Quoting Richard Ellmann, Loeffler notes that when Joyce decamped for Europe, he "did not leave Ireland behind him in any way except physically" (31). While *Ulysses* consistently attempts to dismantle essentialist notions of the nation and nationalist identity as constructed in discourse, Joyce's work does not automatically, therefore, fall into the trap of refusing the nation entirely. In "The Subject and Power," Foucault states that in "reacting to the excessive powers of political rationality" the worst possible response would be to attempt to counter one discourse with another. "Nothing would be more sterile ... because it is senseless to refer reason as the contrary entity to nonreason" (210). Foucault proposes an alternative way of moving towards a new economy of power relations: a way which "consists of taking the forms of resistance

against different forms of power as a starting point," or to use Foucault's metaphor, "it consists of using this resistance as a chemical catalyst so as to bring to light power relations, locate their position, find out their point of application and the methods used" (211). Joyce's objective, like Foucault's, was not to take up the opposing argument, nor to arbitrate or judge between discourses, but rather, to unmask the operations of power generally.

Joyce's aim was not purely to subvert the concept of the nation but rather to comprehend it in far more expansive and complex terms. Adopting Michael Billig's idea of "banal nationalism,"[53] Loeffler suggests that *Ulysses* "reduc[es] the national narrative to the level of the ... individual citizen," assembling the nation as a series of "unconscious quotidian routines," and "remak[ing it] as a corpus of pedestrian knowledges and competencies (39, 38). Indeed, the novel as a whole focuses on "a chaotic multitude of solitary individuals," a series of "interlocked, crisscrossing, interpersonal relations, bound by time, place" and, one might add, by *several* intersecting, simultaneous, and overlapping "narrative thread[s]" (Loeffler 45). Through the character of Leopold Bloom and the structure of the novel, Joyce articulates Irishness in all its detail and diversity, all its flux and fluidity, thereby capturing myriad aspects of Irish culture while re-imagining the notions of nation and national community in more open, shifting, cosmopolitan terms. In privileging the quotidian over the epic, Joyce celebrates the particularity of Dublin life while linking it to ordinary, daily human rituals shared around the globe. In proffering—within this community of discrete individuals—the fragile possibility of connectivity between Bloom and the artist figure Stephen, Joyce tenders the idea that there are genuine ties that tenuously and temporarily unite people in this world of "wandering rocks." Loeffler alludes to the "unstable unity of this community" (45). For Joyce, it is precisely in such unstable connections that possibilities for resistance in a carceral society lie.

VIII. Disruptive Textual Practices

This chapter has dealt with a number of ways in which *The Secret Agent* and *Ulysses* seek to subvert the established order. A closer look at some of the specific disruptive textual practices that Conrad and Joyce employ will demonstrate more clearly how a literary text—the novel form in particular—becomes a means for resisting the notion of universalist truth. If the realist novel was, at least to some extent, co-opted in support of a nationalist agenda, Conrad's and Joyce's texts work deliberately to disturb many of its standard conventions. First and foremost, both novels refuse the seemingly natural, teleological narrative progression.

Much has been written about Conrad's treatment of time in *The Secret Agent*.[54] As the symbol of time, law, civilization, empire, and order, the Greenwich Observatory is both the target of anarchist forces in the story and Conrad's target from an artistic standpoint. Figuratively, Conrad blows up the forces of stability and in doing so his text literally explodes the traditional causal-chronological sequencing of the classic realist text. As Arata has observed, "time in the novel is maddeningly capricious" (186). Actual time is repeatedly juxtaposed with human perception of time as felt experience; Conrad's descriptions take on an almost cinematic quality, leaping rapidly forward and backward, or resolving into slow motion. The confusion of the story's chronology is calculated. Structure mirrors theme. The jumbling of time-lines derails any sense of natural progress. Simultaneously, the explosion at the heart of the novel opens up "sudden holes in space and time" (*SA* 69), inexplicable occurrences, gaps in the normal continuum of human knowledge and development. Conrad attacks the realist novel's assumptions about the inevitability of human progress. *The Secret Agent* underscores that human beings are not in control of the forces of production; rather, they are at the mercy of the complex world of power relations.

On the surface, Joyce's *Ulysses* moves through the events of the protagonists' day in regular chronological fashion. Like Conrad, Joyce continually interrupts this strict narrative progression, but in a different manner. Joyce's text transgresses the bounds of time and space using memories, dreams, and wide-flung allusions to other peoples, places, events, and ages. The rigid chronology serves, on one hand, to discipline the text; on the other, it works as a brilliant foil to the narrative excess and temporal experimentation in which Joyce indulges. Thus, *Ulysses* both formally stages and dismantles any traditional teleological alignment of elements. In its refusal to be bound by realist convention, the text seemingly expands beyond its own borders, suggesting a transgressive way of countering narrow, overly restrictive notions of nation and national belonging.

As noted earlier, both Conrad and Joyce make constant use of repetition—repeated sounds, words, phrases, and sentences. In *The Secret Agent*, this strategy/technique mimics the way in which ideas are repeatedly reinforced in discourse until they become cemented as truth. In *Ulysses*, persistent repetition suggests a kind of paralysis. The aggressive, racist, intransigent attitudes espoused by the Citizen simply replicate those of his English oppressors. Repetition, however, is also the means by which Joyce is able to refute essentialist "truth" and incessantly invent new meanings. For Joyce, language is by no means a transparent medium with a direct relation between signifier and signified. The text indulges in constant wordplay—innuendo, ambiguous meanings, *double entendres*, linguistic puzzles, and broken syntax—continually undermining the conception of language as being straightforwardly mimetic. As Colin MacCabe notes, "[w]ords only derive meaning from the context in which they are found, from their position in regard to other words." *Ulysses*, he maintains:

> undertakes an investigation of writing as an activity in both time and space, for difference can only be produced *across* the page and *through* time ... it is

> always in a deferred moment that the reader grasps the meaning of various signs. This deferred moment is at work throughout *Ulysses* as we constantly find phrases or words in new contexts which cause us to re-read their earlier occurrences. (MacCabe 81)

Thus, Joyce's use of repetition allows multiple, seemingly endless, different meanings to emerge.

As previously noted, in the "Cyclops" chapter of *Ulysses* (which occurs between 5 and 8 pm), the flow of the narrative is obstructed by thirty-three digressions. Disrupting the narrative is just one of several functions of these passages. Thirty-three changes in prose style perform and parody many different forms of writing and discourse: from epic, myth, and biblical tracts to scientific and medical reports; from legal documents and court transcripts to parliamentary proceedings, popular literature, and sensationalist journalism. Of the eighteen episodes in *Ulysses*, "Cyclops" is the only one related from the perspective of a first-person narrator. The Citizen's bombastic pronouncements about the nation are deliberately mediated through the unnamed narrator's voice. This foregrounds the constraining effects of having a story told from only one, limited, restrictive point of view. Joyce's interpolations individually mimic, but as a montage, jointly refuse, any single, dominant way of looking at the world. Throughout the rest of the novel, as is the case in Conrad's text, the centre of consciousness is continually shifting, deliberately opening up the reader's sense of the text's multi-voicedness. Joyce's use of multiple, relative, unstable viewpoints ("parallax"), interior monologues, and stream-of-consciousness thinking in other episodes stands in stark contrast to the narrative technique employed in "Cyclops" and thus the text exposes the Citizen's brand of nationalism as being prejudiced, dogmatic, and dangerous posturing.

Conrad’s and Joyce’s works create this multiple sense of perspectives by yet another means. As mentioned previously, Conrad's novel was set in 1886 but

published in 1907. The Greenwich bombing (1894) and the debates leading up to the passage of the Alien's Act (1905) took place in the intervening years. Joyce's novel is similarly set in its own past. Joyce began writing *Ulysses* in 1914. When the war broke out, he moved his family from Trieste to Zurich, where he continued writing, completing his manuscript in 1921 while living in Paris. Publication of the novel in book form was delayed until 1922. Set in 1904, *Ulysses* deals with neither the horrific consequences of the Great War nor the bloody, imperialist implications of the Irish Civil War (1919-1921), the legal outcome of which was still being decided in 1922. Early readers of Conrad's and Joyce's texts would have been acutely aware of these life-altering and international events which, respectively, occurred prior to the time each work was published. The reader thus brings a whole other terribly ironic perspective to the narrative view of events unfolding.

One of the most important functions of the realist text, in its nationalizing role, was to achieve a form of resolution that forged a final moral consensus among various competing discourses. Conrad's and Joyce's novels both resist such a totalizing conclusion or closure in that they offer "no normative position from which to judge the events" (Arata 179). Conrad's text accomplishes this in part through the use of free indirect narration. Throughout *The Secret Agent* this technique obfuscates whose point of view is really represented. While a third person narrator ostensibly provides an objective description of a character or the action taking place, a second, simultaneous perspective, that of the character him- or herself, gradually becomes apparent. This results in a double-voicedness which refuses judgment. As John Lyon suggests, it "denies the reader the luxury of a clear and uncomplicated moral stance" (xxxvi). Passages in which Verloc attempts to absolve himself from blame for Stevie's death are laced with irony as the narrative shifts almost imperceptibly from Verloc's own thoughts to those of the narrator: "He was a human being—and not a monster as Mrs. Verloc believed him to be. He paused, and a snarl lifting his

moustaches above a gleam of white teeth gave him the expression of a reflective beast" (*SA* 193). Not only does *The Secret Agent* deny the reader a clear moral stance, it avoids providing any final, positive resolution or redeeming moral message.

As Colin MacCabe suggests, the "Cyclops" sequence also "works as a montage of discourses," one that at no time offers "a final meta-language (an author's impersonal voice) which could control the riot of language which composes the text" (90). Joyce's writing, he argues, refuses an explanatory discourse—a discourse that will resolve everything. Compared with the nineteenth-century ideology of the work of art as "a vehicle for communicating meaning from an origin (the artist) to a similarly discrete and unitary recipient (the aesthetic reader or listener)" (MacCabe 89), *Ulysses* lacks the meta-language, the authorial or commanding position which typically brought the realist text to some sort of final resolution and provided the reader a vantage point from which to consume the various other discourses the text contained. As MacCabe points out, "[n]one of the discourses which circulate in ... *Ulysses* can master or make sense of the others ... for the [text investigates] the very processes which produce both content and form, object-languages and meta-language" (14).

MacCabe also argues for the relevance of the relation between politics and language in Joyce's work. Joyce's use of language, he states, *is* political, "for Joyce's writing produces a change in the relations between reader and text, a change which has profound revolutionary implications" (1). It is important to underline what McCabe calls the "materiality of writing" in Joyce's text. Indeed, one could argue that language becomes Joyce's principal thematic and narratological concern. *Ulysses* foregrounds language in ways too numerous to catalogue in detail, but the entire novel can be seen as an experiment with an endless variety of styles, with word play (homonyms, neologisms, puns, symbols, and allusions), with language mimicking

stream-of-consciousness, with visual language, with language as speech, as sound, even with language as deconstructed letters on the page. Such endless experimentation prevents meaning from ever being fixed. In this way, the eighteen episodes in Joyce's *Ulysses,* each with their own distinct ways of innovating with possible infinities of significance, can be understood as eighteen different ways of looking at and critiquing realism.

IX. Revolutionary Passion

In *The Secret Agent*, an ordered society depends upon everyone knowing their place or, possessing (in the narrator's ironic words) "the great social virtue of resignation" (*SA* 62). Social discipline is essential to the maintenance of the status quo and the smooth functioning of the political affairs of the nation. *The Secret Agent* implies that the majority of men, even the majority of so-called revolutionists, are conformists at heart who share a reluctance "to revolt against the advantages and opportunities" of their "given social state" (*SA* 57). Conrad's novel exposes the human propensity to compromise *principle* for pleasure or protection and thus illustrates the processes by which free individuals are made willing subjects, bound to the social order. A disciplined society ensures the preservation of the existing order and the restriction of access to citizenship rights, the expansion of which might upset the balance of power. Winnie Verloc is the truly revolutionary figure in Conrad's novel. Propelled by the perpetration of a deep injustice, she is the individual who breaks free of the strictures that society imposes on her. It is Winnie, whose motives are selfless, who forms the moral centre of Conrad's work. In his 1920 "Author's Note" to *The Secret Agent*, Conrad characterizes his novel as "the story of Winnie Verloc," the tale of her life, "disengaged from its obscurity in that immense town" of London, followed "to its anarchistic end of utter desolation, madness and

despair" (*SA* 7, 8). Winnie is the *locus* for Conrad's examination of what Foucault refers to as "the effects of power at its extremities" (Foucault, *TL* 96).

As an English woman, Winnie Verloc represents the national "norm." For much of the novel, her life is tightly proscribed by the codifying and consigning practices society uses to define what constitutes that so-called norm. Although she is "not a submissive creature," she willingly subjects herself to a patriarchal world in return for the protection of her brother, whom she had had to love "with a militant love," whom she had "battled for ... even against herself" (*SA* 186). Repeatedly described as "a woman of singularly few words, either for private or public use" (*SA* 183), Winnie Verloc lacks voice. Her "distant and uninquiring acceptance of facts [are] her force and safeguard in life" (*SA* 119). Yet, when she breaks out of these constraints and murders her husband, when she becomes a "free woman" and assumes "an almost preternaturally perfect control of every fibre of her body" (*SA* 196), she begins to be perceived, from other people's perspectives, as alien, demented, and dangerous. The narrator reports "a tinge of wildness in her aspect" (*SA* 195). From Adolph Verloc's point-of-view, "the resemblance of her face with that of her brother [grows] at every step, even to the droop of the lower lip, even to the slight divergence of the eyes." She becomes an "armed lunatic ... murdering mad" (*SA* 197). To Ossipon, who prides himself in looking at things "scientifically" (*SA* 222), she becomes "terrif[ying]—the sister of the degenerate—herself of a murdering type" (*SA* 217). The transmutation Winnie undergoes in the eyes of others is symbolic of the way in which deviance is manufactured in discourse as a means of policing citizenship.

If the explosion that kills Stevie represents, in Arata's words, "a bewildering infraction of rules both social and cosmic" (185), Winnie's brutal stabbing of her husband is shown to be the opposite: a deliberate and violent response to the intolerable pain to which she is subjected when her life is barbarically stripped of

meaning. If Winnie's murder of her husband is an act of revolutionary passion, Conrad identifies the carceral society as the catalyst. Like Conrad, Foucault maintains that the carceral society is responsible for the transformation of "the social enemy ... into a deviant who brought with him the multiple danger of disorder, crime and madness" (*DP* 299-300). For Foucault, the purpose of the creation of deviance was the subjugation of the individual. Foucault also recognizes, however, that the "monster" or "mad" person who departs from the social norm and breaks the social contract, as Winnie is driven to do, "drops out of the pact and disqualifies [her/] himself as a citizen" (*DP* 101). Winnie is the novel's real revolutionary, but having breached the rules and become a "free woman," she finds herself " friendless," "alone," "at the bottom of a black abyss, ... with no face, and no discernible form" (*SA* 202, 196, 203, 201, 218). For Conrad, death would appear to be the price of individual freedom and revolt.

In *Ulysses*, the Citizen, like Winnie in *The Secret Agent*, is motivated by a profound sense of injustice. For all his bluster, there is truth to his tirade against the English, whom he claims drove the Irish "out of house and home" during the famine of 1846: "The Sassenach tried to starve the nation ... while the land was full of crops that the British hyenas bought and sold in Rio de Janeiro. Ay, they drove the peasants out in hordes. Twenty thousand of them died in the coffinships" (*U* 12. 1365, 1369-72). It was inhumane treatment that caused the Irish to vow to take radical action and level "force against force" (*U* 12.1364) in the fight for Home Rule. In Ireland, unbearable conditions stemming from such treatment during and after the famine triggered an intense period of violent insurrection. For a time following Parnell's assumption of the leadership of the Irish Parliamentary Party in 1877, it appeared there might be a possibility of a politically brokered solution to the Irish question. This hope, however, was quashed in 1890 when revelations of Parnell's relations with Katharine O'Shea destroyed his political life. In the aftermath of his

death in 1891, Parnell's particular brand of working-within-the-system died and a new kind of radicalism re-emerged with an unapologetic willingness to deploy guerrilla tactics. The "Cyclops" chapter of *Ulysses* reflects this renewed, violent spirit of revolution.

In Joyce's text, it is the Citizen who, on the surface, represents the rebel figure. His brand of revolutionary passion, however, is a strident and particularly intolerant form of nationalism that simply replicates and perpetuates the violent, racist, misogynist attitudes to which the Irish were subjected under English imperialist rule. The Citizen's act of revolutionary violence—launching a "grenade" at "that bloody Jewman" Bloom (*U* 12.1811)—causes reverberations which echo the exploding bomb in Conrad's text. Figuratively, in "Cyclops" the detonation causes a seismic disturbance of a magnitude surpassing anything on national record. Whereas in Conrad's text, it is the innocent Stevie, the victimized subject of power, who is literally blown to smithereens, in "Cyclops," it is the very symbol of English law and order, "the palace of justice" that ends up imaginatively obliterated by the blast. In *The Secret Agent*, Conrad's protagonist, Winnie, pays the ultimate price for her revolt. In *Ulysses*, Joyce's hero, Bloom, embraces a wider vision of national belonging than that of the Citizen, and in doing so, it is he who becomes the quiet but authentic revolutionary. In his refusal to look at things in categorical terms, he gently but firmly opposes the idea of a nation built on hatred, inequity, and intolerance. Through his first, faltering steps towards shepherding the efforts of writer-figure Stephen Dedalus, Bloom gestures towards the cultural possibility of a different kind of revolution and a different kind of imagined community. Bloom represents the hope of a more open, tolerant definition of society, one not bound by fixed, narrow, insular notions of nation and citizenship that serve primarily to safeguard the interests of the dominant class. Bloom's deviation from the Irish social "norm" causes him to be branded as someone who does not belong. In Foucault's

words (and in Joyce's text), however, deviant behaviour manifests "a fortunate irrepressibility of human nature." In this light, Foucault suggests that deviance can be seen, not so much "as a weakness or disease, but as an energy that is reviving an outburst of protest in the name of human individuality" (*DP* 289).

X. Conclusion

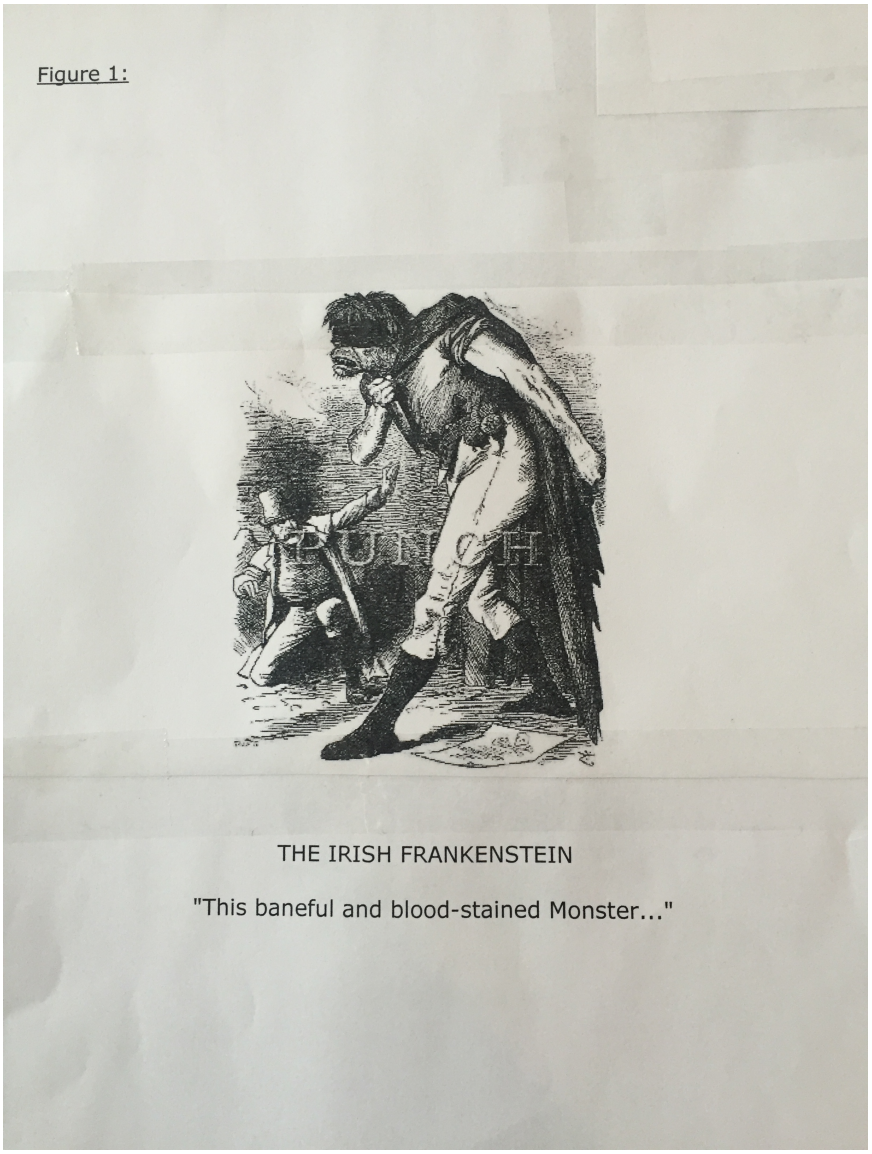
Seamus Deane claims that for Joyce, "the act of writing became an act of rebellion" (99). This chapter has argued that *The Secret Agent* and *Ulysses* experiment with the ways in which literary form and structure, language and subject matter, could be used to contest the centripetal energies of social discourse and the totalizing forces of the realist narrative. Both novels are highly conscious of their own status as literary texts. Conrad and Joyce seem acutely aware of the revolutionary potential of their work. Like the Professor in his novel, Conrad appears to meditate on his own power as a writer: "he felt the mass of mankind ... swarm[ing] like locusts, industrious like ants, thoughtless like a natural force, pushing on blind and orderly and absorbed, impervious to sentiment, to logic" (*SA* 67). Prefiguring Foucault's carceral society, Conrad is seized of the need for "a blow fit to open the first crack in the imposing front of the great edifice of legal conceptions sheltering the atrocious injustice of society" (*SA* 66). Similarly, in the passage describing the "mass of ruins" (*U* 12.1865-76) caused by the imagined exploding bomb at the culmination of the "Cyclops" episode, Joyce seems self-reflexively to anticipate the scale of the shock that publication of his novel would cause. Indeed, Shane Leslie once described *Ulysses* as "an attempted Clerkenwell explosion aimed at the very heart of the English literary tradition" (Leslie 238).

Contemplating the idea of art's relationship to power, Conrad is somewhat less sanguine than Joyce. As Tamás Juhász points out, the experience of "*foreignness*" was a central preoccupation of Conrad's fiction. In his reference to

"paper and ink" being futile as a means of sparking revolutionary change, Conrad, as a writer—particularly one perceived by the public as "foreign"—seems to despair of his own vocation being a tool with which to ignite change. Yet, both Conrad's and Joyce's texts were "explosive" in the sense that, thematically, they were searing exposés of the power relations and vested interests underpinning the citizenship debates of the day. More importantly, their novels were revolutionary in the sense that, formally and methodologically, they produce in the reader a palpable estrangement from the norms of realism, which translates into a growing sense of discomfort with what the texts reveal to be overly facile notions of nation and national belonging. Reacting to the manner in which the realist tradition produced a narrative that purported to represent universalist "truth," Conrad's and Joyce's works resist such tidy over-simplification. Linking the workings of literary discourse to the workings of political—or more specifically, *nationalist*—discourse, *The Secret Agent* and *Ulysses* expose the way power works to police access to the privilege of citizenship.

Policing often involves violence. This is implied by the very term—"police force"—that is commonly used to describe members of that body of persons constituted and empowered by the state to enforce the law. According to at least one definition, the mandate of the police force is the maintenance of a civilized society. The role of police is to protect people and property and prevent crime and civil disorder. Police powers include the power of arrest and the *legitimized* use of force.[55] The following chapter expands on the ways these sweeping powers are deployed in the context of the building of the nation—not only in the strict sense of imposing the law or policing access to citizenship—but in the broader context of managing the populace.

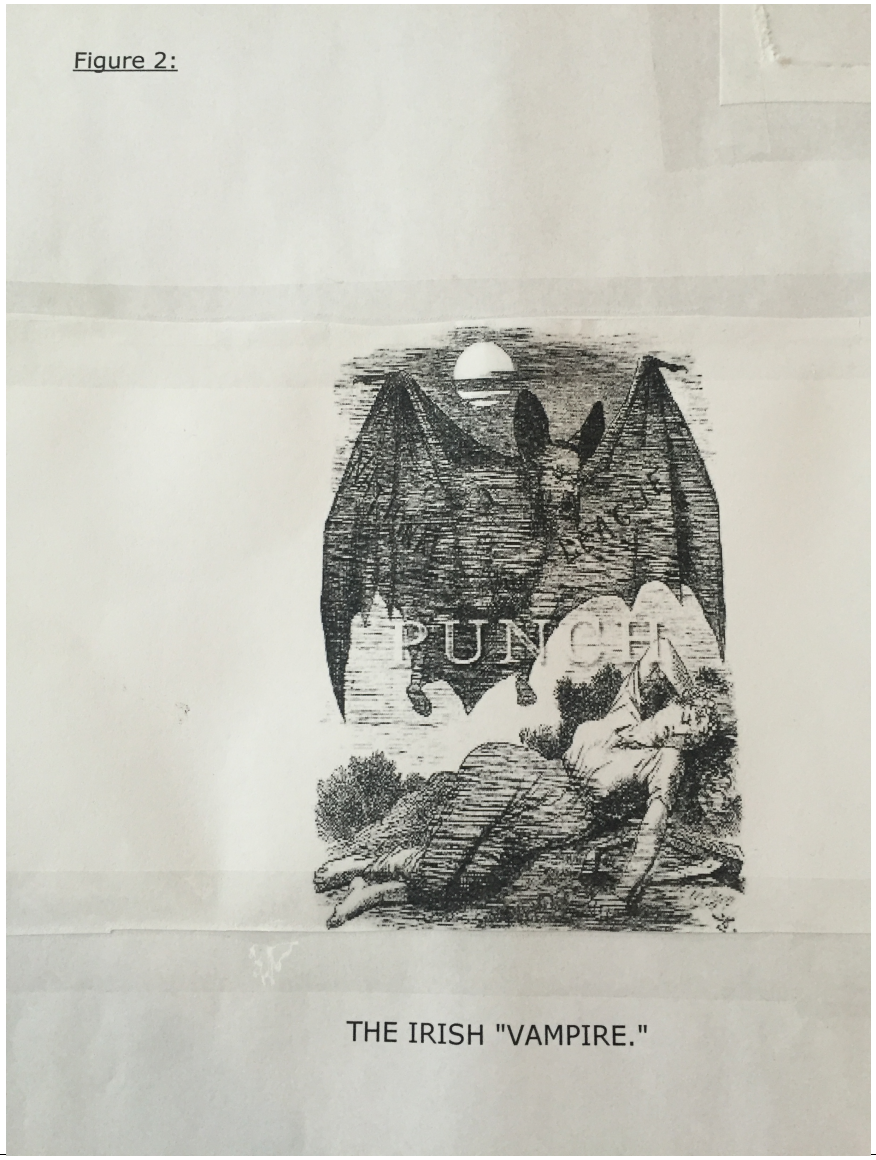
FIGURE 1:



THE IRISH FRANKENSTEIN

"This baneful and blood-stained Monster..."

FIGURE 2:



THE IRISH VAMPIRE

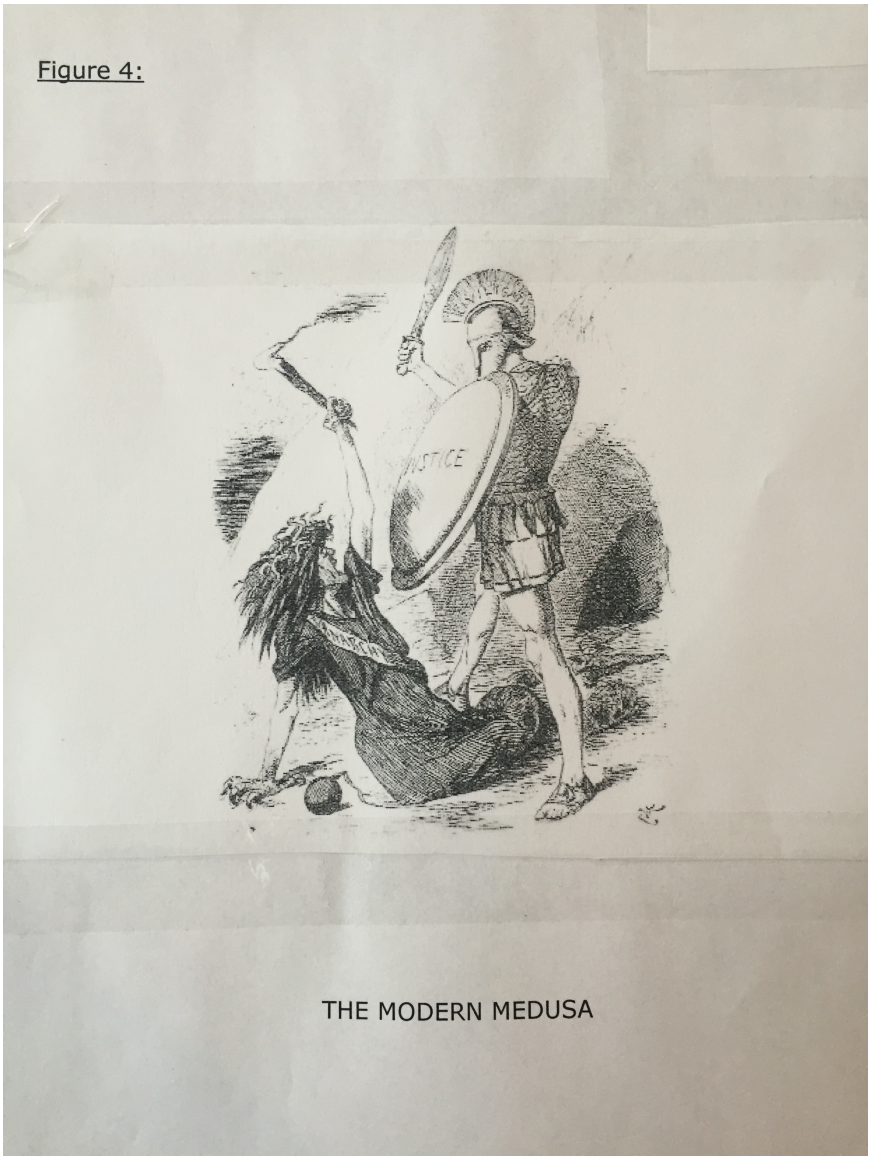
FIGURE 3:

Figure 3:

TWO FORCES

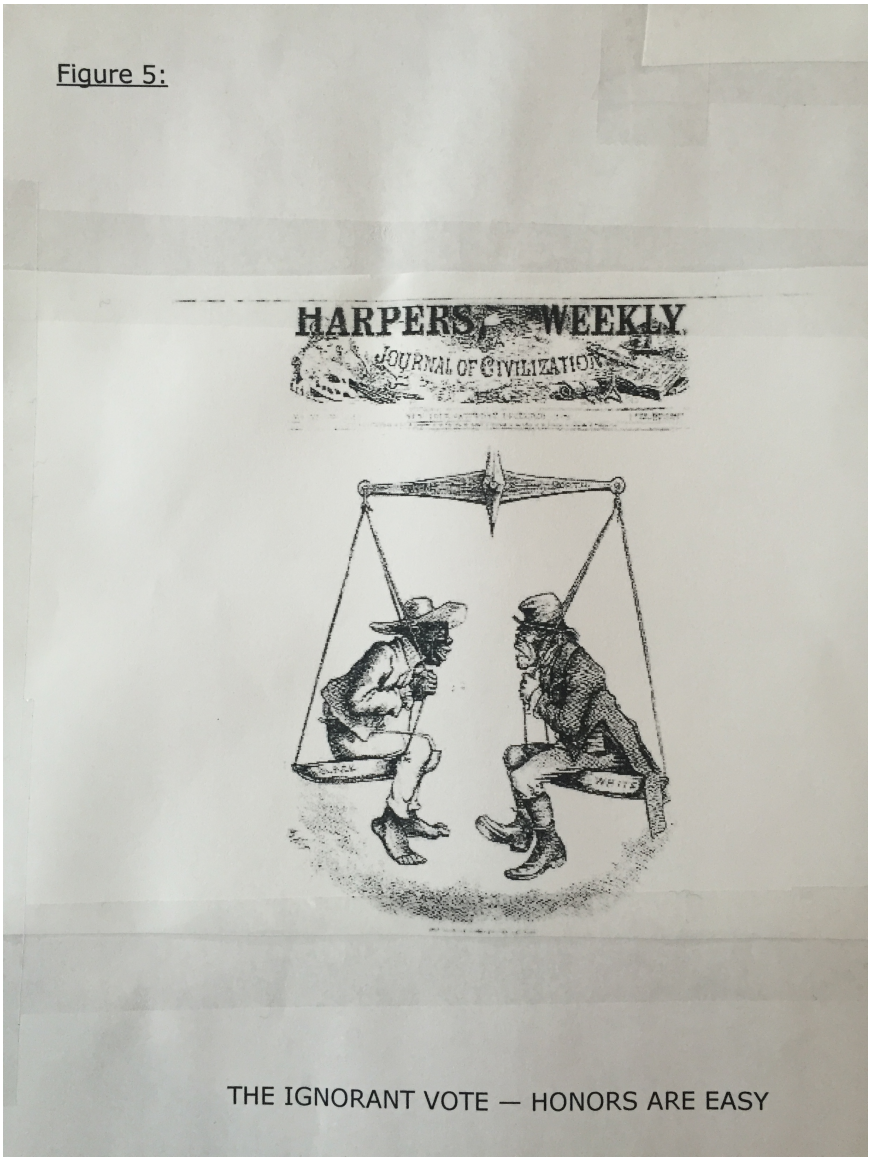
TWO FORCES

FIGURE 4:



THE MODERN MEDUSA

FIGURE 5:



THE IGNORANT VOTE—HONORS ARE EASY

FIGURE 6:

Thomas Osbourne Davis, “A Nation Once Again” (*c*. 1840)

When boyhood's fire was in my blood
I read of ancient freemen,
For Greece and Rome who bravely stood,
Three hundred men and three men;
And then I prayed I yet might see
Our fetters rent in twain,
And Ireland, long a province, be
A Nation once again!

A Nation once again,
A Nation once again,
And lreland, long a province, be
A Nation once again!

And from that time, through wildest woe,
That hope has shone a far light,
Nor could love's brightest summer glow
Outshine that solemn starlight;
It seemed to watch above my head
In forum, field and fane,
Its angel voice sang round my bed,
A Nation once again!

It whisper'd too, that freedom's ark
And service high and holy,
Would be profaned by feelings dark
And passions vain or lowly;
For, Freedom comes from God's right hand,
And needs a Godly train;
And righteous men must make our land
A Nation once again!

So, as I grew from boy to man,
I bent me to that bidding
My spirit of each selfish plan
And cruel passion ridding;
For, thus I hoped some day to aid,
Oh, can such hope be vain ?
When my dear country shall be made
A Nation once again!

"A NATION ONCE AGAIN," BY THOMAS OSBOURNE DAVIS

Endnotes

[1] For further details, see Anne Kershen, "The 1905 Aliens Act," 13-19.

[2] See Mary Burgoyne, "Conrad Among the Anarchists," 147-185; David Glover, "Aliens, Anarchists and Detectives," 22-33; Paul Knepper, "The Other Invisible Hand," 295-315; and Jill Pellew, "Communication," 369-385.

[3] The first modern British passport, which temporarily restricted ingress and egress to the United Kingdom, was introduced in 1915, regulated by the amended *Defense of the Realm Act.* As Lesley Higgins and M.-C. Leps point out, to this day, the passport has become the internationally accepted marker of identity and nationality. See Higgins, Leps, "'*Passport, Please*': Legal, Literary and Critical Fictions of Identity," 99.

[4] At the beginning of the twentieth century, successive British governments enacted a series of measures to control the movement of aliens across and within their borders. These included: the *Aliens Act*, 1905, the *Aliens Restriction Act*, 1914, the *Aliens Restriction* (Amendment) Act, 1919, and the *Aliens Order*, 1920. For a detailed history of the *Aliens Act*, 1905, see Bernard Gainer, *The Origins of the Aliens Act 1905.*

[5] Such policies included the Reform Acts of 1832, 1867, and 1884, which extended voting rights to previously disenfranchised male citizens and more evenly reapportioned representation in parliament.

[6] See, in particular, Pericles Lewis, Introduction, *The Cambridge Introduction to Modernism*, 1-33.

[7] Poet Ezra Pound summarized the aspirations of Modernism, in the slogan "Make it New," in the *Cantos*. See Lewis, *Modernism*, 26.

[8] From 1881-1885, the Fenian organization called the Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB) coordinated a series of bomb attacks targeting a number of prominent public

institutions, government, military, and police targets throughout Britain.

[9] Mary Burgoyne has collected and reproduced a number of documents and press reports dealing with the Greenwich Outrage drawn from both the popular and the anarchist press: Burgoygne, "Conrad Among the Anarchists: Documents on Martial Bourdin and the Greenwich Bombing," *The Conradian* 32.1; "*The Secret Agent*: Centennial Essays" (Spring 2007), 147-185, i-ii.

[10] As Marie-Christine Leps explains, the emergence of literature in the modern sense is primarily attributable to two important developments which occurred towards the end of the eighteenth century: first, the virtual disappearance of patronage meant that writers began to address "an impersonal market rather than a restricted circle of patrons and peers" (135). The result was that writing and publishing became, not only a political and artistic concern, but also an economic one. It was, secondly, at this time, Leps states, that "literature came to mean works of fiction rather than any text of erudition" (135). For a more detailed history of the rise of modern English literature, see Marie-Christine Leps, *Apprehending the Criminal*, 135-165.
See also Terry Eagleton, *Literary Theory*, 15-26.

[11] For thirty-five years between 1851 and 1886, Matthew Arnold pursued a career as one of Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools. The position required him to travel widely throughout England as one of twenty inspectors covering some 4000 schools.
The role shaped his life-long commitment to education and helped to define his view of the role of public education in national life.

[12] To highlight two in particular: Marie-Christine Leps, *Apprehending the Criminal*, 135-165, and Colin MacCabe, *James Joyce and the Revolution of the Word*, 13-38.

[13] Tamás Juhász links these two citations in the preface to his book, *Conradian Contracts: Exchange and Identity in the Immigrant Imagination*. In Juhász's reading, they "offer a very concise summing up of ... a central and permanent concern in [Conrad's] life and fiction" (Preface ix).

[14] For a detailed account of the legal history of *Ulysses'* publication, see: Kevin Birmingham, *The Battle for James Joyce's Ulysses* (New York: Penguin Press, 2014).

[15] Tamás Juhász illustrates the overlapping connections between legal and economic discourses in Conrad's text when he advances the argument that Conrad's narrative "can be read as a story of failed investments, broken promises, and devastating contractual arrangements (130). See *Conradian Contracts* 113-31.

[16] Universal voting rights in the United Kingdom did not exist for men until 1918 and it was not until 1928 that universal suffrage for women was achieved. *The Reform Act* of 1884 had increased the number of male registered voters in the United Kingdom to six million; however, it included only those men who owned property. Women were not enfranchised until 1918, when that year's *Representation of the People Act* gave women over the age of thirty (who met certain property-owning qualifications) the right to vote (for men, the threshold was age eighteen). In 1928, the *Representation of the People (Equal Franchise Act)* extended the vote to all women over the age of twenty-one.

[17] In the latter part of the nineteenth century, human "degeneracy" became an object of investigation in a burgeoning field known as the school of positivist criminology. One of the school's prime instigators was Italian criminologist Cesare Lombroso (1835-1909). Lombroso rejected the generally accepted idea that crime was a potentiality inherent in all human beings, positing instead that criminality was inherited and atavistic, a biological throwback to an earlier stage of human evolution. Specifically, Lombroso's theories linked criminal psychopathy to physical or constitutional defects. For more information on such theories, see Section V and endnote 44 below.

[18] The 1870 Education Act, the first legislation to deal specifically with the provision of education in Britain, established a system of "school boards" to build and manage schools. In 1880, a new Education Act made school attendance compulsory between

the ages of five and ten; further legislation in 1893 extended the age of compulsory attendance to eleven, and in 1899, to twelve.

[19] In 1921, Joyce produced an eighteen stage schema of *Ulysses* for Stuart Gilbert, which outlined the fundamental structure of the novel. In this schema, each of the first three episodes, which centre on Stephen Dedalus (and which are sometimes referred to as "The Telemachiad"), take place at the same times of day as episodes 4, 5, and 6, which focus on Leopold Bloom. The parallel episodes take place at 8 am, 10 am, and 11 am, respectively.

[20] See John Quail, *The Slow Burning Fuse*, 162-8.

[21] See, among others, Mary Burgoyne, Lewis P. Curtis, David Glover, Paul Knepper, Jill Pellew, John Quail, and Haia Shpayer-Makov.

[22] See Curtis, *Apes and Angels*, 31-2.

[23] "Coffin ships" carried Irish emigrants escaping the Great Irish Famine 1845-52. Crowded and disease-ridden, these ships resulted in the deaths of thousands of people as they crossed the Atlantic.

[24] "Fenian" was the umbrella term for the Fenian Brotherhood founded by John O'Mahoney in New York in 1858 and the Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB) founded the same year in Dublin by James Stephens. Dedicated to the establishment of an independent Irish republic, the Fenians were prepared to use violence to achieve their ends.

[25] Charles Stewart Parnell (1846-1891) was an Irish nationalist and leader of the struggle for Irish Home Rule. Parnell assumed the leadership of the Home Rule Party (later the Irish Parliamentary Party) in 1877. He was a member of the British Parliament 1875-1891. Parnell became involved in politics following the hanging of the men who had become known as the "Manchester Martyrs," a group of Fenians, three of whom were executed in 1867 for their part in a successful ambush to free two Fenian leaders from a prison van in Manchester, England. A British policeman

was shot and killed in the incident. A fourth man, Condon (alias "Shore"), initially condemned, received a last-minute reprieve and was sentenced to life imprisonment. Condon was one of the models for Michaelis in Conrad's *The Secret Agent*. See Sherry, 260-73. Parnell was an immensely popular leader who successfully harnessed Irish national sentiment. Between 1880 and 1890, he deftly used his party's power at Westminster to Ireland's advantage. In 1879, he became the first president of Michael Davitt's National Land League, which was committed to abolishing absentee (English) landlordism and returning Irish land to its peasant farmers. The Irish Parliamentary Party disbanded in 1890 when revelations of Parnell's longtime affair with a married Englishwoman brought about his political downfall. See Section IX and note 49 below.

[26] Sites targeted in the 1881-1885 Fenian bombing campaigns included churches, military barracks, police stations, government headquarters, and infrastructure facilities: among them were Westminster Abbey, *The Times* newspaper offices, administrative buildings at Whitehall, Westminster Bridge, and Paddington railway station.

[27] The officials murdered in Phoenix Park were the new British Chief Secretary, Lord Frederick Cavendish, who had served as Gladstone's private secretary from 1872-73), and the Permanent Under-Secretary, Thomas Henry Burke.

[28] See Curtis, *Anglo-Saxons and Celts*, 21.

[29] Imperialism and racism in the Congo Free State were also the subject of Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*, which was originally published in three- part serial form in *Blackwood's Magazine* in 1899, and subsequently in book form, in 1902.

[30] Anarchism itself was seen as an "epidemic disease originating outside Britain" (*Daily Express*, 13 September 1901, p. 3; *Daily News*, 5 April 1892, p. 4; *Evening News*, 17 December 1894, p. 2; *Spectator*, 24 February 1894, p. 257 and 14 July 1894, p. 41). (Shpayer-Makov 500).

[31] See, in particular, Robert Hampson, *Conrad's Secrets*, 78-84.

[32] According to Norman Sherry's research, Johann Most was Conrad's model for Karl Yundt in *The Secret Agent*.

[33] David Nicholl's pamphlet is reproduced in Norman Sherry, *Conrad's Western World*, Appendix D (379-84).

[34] *Commonweal* was originally published in February 1885 as "The Official Journal of the Socialist League." William Morris was its financial backer and first editor. In 1888, more extreme anarchist members removed Morris and appointed David Nicoll as editor, renaming the paper "A Revolutionary Journal of Anarchist-Communism."

[35] *Punch*, or *The London Charivari,* was a satirical British weekly magazine established in 1841 by Henry Mayhew and engraver Ebenezer Landells. Historically, it was most influential in the 1840s and 50s, when it helped coin the term "cartoon" in its modern sense as a humorous illustration. Its circulation peaked in the 1940's and publication ceased in 1992. It was revived in 1996, but closed again in 2002. See Jane Nadel-Klein, *Occidentalism as a Cottage Industry*, 110.

[36] One such tale of gothic horror, Bram Stoker's widely known vampire novel, *Dracula*, was published 26 May 1897.

[37] A newspaper office is also the site, and metaphorical and textual impetus, for the "Aeolus" episode of *Ulysses*.

[38] Howard Vincent was one of Conrad's models for the Assistant Commissioner in *The Secret Agent*. See Sherry, *Conrad's Western World*, 296-301.

[39] On 13 December 1867, members of the Fenian Society attempted to help a man named Richard Burke, an arms supplier to the Fenians, escape from Clerkenwell Prison, London. A gunpowder explosion set off in the prison's exercise yard killed twelve innocent bystanders and wounded another hundred and twenty in Corporation Row. The incident became known as the Clerkenwell Outrage. The ringleader, Michael Barrett, was the last person to be executed publicly in England, outside

Newgate, on 26 May 1868.

[40] For more information on connections between the Jack the Ripper murders and the immigrant communities of East-end London, see John Marriott, "The Imaginative Geography of the Whitechapel Murders" in Alex Werner, ed., *Jack the Ripper and the East End* (London: Chatto & Windus, 2008), 31-63.

[41] For a more detailed history of British citizenship, see William Blackstone, *Commentaries on the Laws of England* (1765), reproduced in Philip B. Kurland and Ralph Lerner, eds., *The Founders Constitution* (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 2000), 1:354, 357-58, 361-62.

[42] For Henry James's response to those same "masses" in New England, see *The American Scene*, 425-8.

[43] David Glover notes that the notion that racism initiates a break ("*une coupure*") in "the biological continuum of the human species" is taken from Michel Foucault, *Il Faut Défendre La Société* (Paris:Seuil/Gallimard, 1997), 227.

[44] Lombroso propounded these theories in a number of books, the most important and influential of which was *L'uomo Delinquente* (1876). See Mary Gibson and Nicole Hahn Rafter's English translation, *Criminal Man* (Durham, NC: Duke UP, 2006), 43-57.

[45] In Joyce's first novel, *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, published 29 December 1916, protagonist Stephen Dedalus muses on the ideological "nets" cast by church and state: "When the soul of a man is born in this country there are nets flung at it to hold it back from flight. You talk to me of nationality, language, religion. I shall try to fly by those nets" (171).

[46] Æthelred II (b. *circa* 968; d. 1016) ascended the throne of England following the assassination of his half-brother Edward II (King Edward the Martyr) in 978. Æthelred was forced to defend the country against a series of Viking raids that started in 980 and lasted throughout his reign. Widespread belief that he and his

advisors had had a part in Edward's murder made it difficult for the new king to rally the support of the nation against the Danish invasion. Unable to prevent the Danes from overrunning much of the country, Æthelred ordered the massacre of all Danes in England in 1002. This action only provoked further assaults by the Danes. Æthelred reigned from 978-1013 and 1014-1016. For more information see: *The Encyclopædia Britannica*, http://www.britannica.com/biography/Ethelred-II

[47] The reference is to James Carey (1845-83), one of the leaders of Dublin's branch of The Invincibles, a splinter group of Fenians organized in 1881 with the object of assassinating key members of the then militantly oppressive British government in Ireland. Arrested in connection with the 1882 Phoenix Park murders, Carey turned Queen's evidence during the trial in 1883 and his comrades were hanged. For more detail, see Gifford 94.

[48] See Joseph O'Brien, *Dear Dirty Dublin*, 180.

[49] Katharine O'Shea (1846-1921) was an English woman whose relationship with Charles Stewart Parnell ultimately caused his political downfall. In 1890, their ten-year liaison was revealed in divorce proceedings brought by her husband, Captain William Henry O'Shea. The subsequent controversy ruined Parnell's political career.

[50] See Stuart Gilbert, *James Joyce's* Ulysses: *A Study*.

[51] In this line Joyce alludes to the patriotic song, "Rule Britannia!" which originated as a poem by James Thomson and was set to music in 1740. Its famous refrain makes an interesting counterpart to Thomas Osborne Davis's Irish nationalist song, *A Nation Once Again,* which I discuss in Section VII and endnote 52 below:

> When Britain first, at Heaven's command
> Arose from out the azure main;
> This was the charter of the land,
> And guardian angels sang this strain:
> "Rule, Britannia! rule the waves:

"Britons never will be slaves."

[52] Thomas Davis Osborne (1814-1845), Irish poet and patriot, was the chief organizer of the Young Ireland Movement and founder of the newspaper *The Nation*. His poem, "A Nation Once Again," written *c.* 1840, quickly became the unofficial anthem of the Irish nationalist movement.

[53] See Michael Billig's *Banal Nationalism*, 5.

[54] See, among others, Stephen Arata's "*The Secret Agent*" and R. H. Stallman's "Time and *The Secret Agent*."

[55] This description is a digest of a definition contained in a 2009 study carried out in Britain, released under the title of "The Role and Responsibilities of the Police: the report of an independent inquiry established by the Police Foundation and Policy Studies Institute" (see www.psi.org.uk/publications/archivepdfs/Role%20pol/INDPOL-0.P.pdf p.xii).

Chapter Two

Citizenship and Nationalism

The rise of nationalist movements had an important impact on Modernist writers. Two, in particular, who led especially colourful, cosmopolitan lives, were the American-born novelist Henry James (1843-1916) and English-born poet Mina Loy (1882-1966). Both spent much of their adulthood outside of their native countries, both travelled extensively, and each would ultimately abandon the citizenship of his/her birth. James chose to become a naturalized British subject in 1915, while Loy was granted American citizenship in 1946. At the beginning of World War I, James was in England, where he resided predominantly from 1875, alternating between flats he leased (first in Piccadilly, later in Kensington) and a house he had taken near the old town of Rye, Sussex. Horrified by "this crash of our civilization ... a nightmare from which there is no waking,"[1] and unhappy with America's reluctance to join the war, James threw himself into relief efforts, working with the wounded at hospitals in London and chairing the American Volunteer Motor Ambulance Corps in France. Prominent in social and artistic circles, he was politically well connected. Yet, despite associations with then Prime Minister H. H. Asquith, Winston Churchill, and other war leaders, James, as an American expatriate, was swept up along with many others of foreign nationality and branded "alien" under the *Alien Restriction Act*, 1914. This obliged him to report to the police each time he moved between his rooms in London and his home in Rye.[2] James's solution was to become a British national, with Asquith acting as one of his sponsors. Mina Loy's Jewish heritage would put her in a similar situation in 1935. Having spent virtually all of her adult life travelling widely and freely in France, Italy, Austria, Germany, the States, and Mexico, Loy was living in Paris when Hitler began stirring up anti-Semitic hostility in Europe and she sensed the urgency to decamp to New York.

The rapid rise of nationalism at the end of the nineteenth and early decades of the twentieth centuries had profound consequences for the concept of citizenship. Attempts on the part of national governments to police access to immigration at the country's borders and defuse demands for citizenship rights among disenfranchised groups already resident in the territory became an increasingly complex undertaking as the size of populations and movement of peoples began to expand exponentially. As Foucault observes, by 1900, the growth of capitalism, large-scale demographic shifts, and a rise in life expectancy, resulted in ever-larger populations that had to be managed by governments. These developments were accompanied by marked changes in the way in which power was exercised. What Foucault terms "governmentality," or the "art of government" invented in modernity, came to the fore. In this regime, the state's drive to power is expressed in a consuming nationalism, in which it is the ongoing political, economic, and biological health of the nation that is of paramount concern. The state's equilibrium is dependent upon establishing control over boundaries, managing the population, consolidating a national identity, and securing the enduring loyalty of the citizenry. In order to achieve these goals, the state claims the security of the population and the interests of the nation as its field of intervention.[3] "The aim of the modern art of government, or state rationality" Foucault contends, "is to develop those elements constitutive of individual lives in such a way that their development also fosters that of the strength of the state" (*Omnes* 2: 252). Foucault recognizes these shifts in the methods of deployment of power as part of "a great process of subjugation" (*HS* 21). As the fostering of national life and protection of "the people" becomes an increasingly central concern of the state, various disciplines galvanize to create "an explosion of numerous and diverse techniques for achieving ... the control of populations" (*HS* 140). The result is that important new "governmental" ways of defining citizenship begin to crystallize. These are the focus of this chapter and of James's and Loy's critiques.

For James and Loy, "nationalism" understood as a state-engineered phenomenon is cause for alarm. Nationalism is an ideology that holds that a nation is the fundamental unit for human social, political, and economic life. It is based on the nation's interests taking precedence over individual concerns or other group affiliations. Most modern academic theorists insist that nations are a socially constructed concept and that nationalism is a comparatively recent phenomenon dating from the American and French Revolutions, when, for the first time in history, under the credo of "the sovereignty of the people," the state became "the people's," or "the nation's" state. By the middle years of the twentieth century, this notion of the "nation-state" had become the cornerstone of the world's geo-political organization. Nationalists typically make the claim that the "nation" is the only fully legitimate basis for a state. Nations are defined by categorizing human beings. The criteria for distinguishing one nation from another generally rest upon ethnographic traits that determine group membership, including shared language, culture, values, and traditions. European nation-states tend to adopt models in which a single, unicultural population dominates, inevitably the dominant ethnographic group. Nationalism is grounded on the principles that each "nation" is entitled to territorial sovereignty (its own state) and that the borders of the state should be congruent with the borders of the nation. Nationalist ideology involves the mapping of the ethno-cultural domain onto the domain of political sovereignty. The role of the nation-state is to promote and promulgate the interests of "the people" who define "the nation." This often entails, as Joyce's *Ulysses* illustrates, an appeal to a national, cultural-historical mythos from which the nation-state claims to derive its political legitimacy. The discursive process of deciding how to "frame" the nation is inevitably an exclusionary one, and it has far-reaching consequences for citizenship.

In their respective literary projects, James and Loy explore the implications of the nationalist movements that were coming to dominate political thinking in Europe,

England, and the United States at the *fin-de-siècle*. Both artists are appalled by what Loy refers to as the "herd-housing" ("AM" 121) techniques used by British and American governments to secure power over their burgeoning populations. James's *The American Scene* (1907)—based on a tour he made of the United States in 1904-05 following a more than twenty year absence from his country of birth[4]—contains his personal account of America's brash, new turn-of-the-century experiment with the progressive enterprise of assimilative nation-building. (The themes of management, control, and the need for containment of the "foreign element" that disturb James's vision of America in his cultural critique also permeate his late fiction, in particular, his 1903 novel, *The Ambassadors*.)

In her socio-political treatise "International Psycho-Democracy" (1920),[5] Loy likewise deplores the notion of the state, or "dominating class," as "a psychological nucleus progressively absorbing all similar elements into itself" (*LAS* 280). Her long allegorical poem entitled "Anglo-Mongrels and the Rose" (published in installments from 1923 to 1925)[6] contains a caustic analysis of English society based on an examination of her own heritage and upbringing as the product of her parents' mixed national, linguistic, and religious union at a time of growing national intolerance towards immigrants. While James bemoans the loss of "homogeneity" and a certain "tone-standard," which he associates with the migrations and interminglings of peoples, Loy's "auto-mythography"[7] exposes and condemns the ways in which various discourses contribute to the construction of gendered and racialized identities and the entrenchment of attitudes of class superiority. By "tone-standard," James means the loss of time-honoured tradition and class respect that he believes constitutes one's social identity—more pointedly, the loss of cultural purity linked to skin tone or "whiteness". If James longs for cultural homogeneity, Loy celebrates heterogeneity.

In their works, James and Loy trace the ways in which power operates,

continually modifying and adapting itself to the socio-cultural realities of a rapidly changing world. Their respective literary projects constitute their personal, aesthetic, and political responses to these evolving arts of government that claim to defend the security of the nation and the well-being of its population. Both writers identify shifts in the deployment of power that cause human beings to be treated less as subjects that must be "beneficently" controlled (in their homes, schools, and workplaces) and more as pawns in a larger game of national and international politics. Both also decline to be co-opted by what they view as programmatic, nationalistic frameworks for the efficient conduct of "civil" society and the ongoing development of forces of the state. Yet, the two have vastly different aims and rationales for resisting the nationalist movements of their day. While they share a commitment to the rejection of governmental reason—what Foucault refers to as "*raison d'État*"—and the fundamental requirements of citizenship that accompany it, James and Loy approach the issue of nationalism, and its implications for individual rights, from opposite ends of the political spectrum. James, yearning for a return to a more "civilized," traditional, even aristocratic, and especially homogeneous society, opposes aesthetic discourse to political discourse as a means of resisting modern methods of social control and the "normalizing" activities of government. Loy, on the other hand, distrusting all forms of cultural inheritance, employs the inventiveness of the poetic to reject absolutely the imposition of meaning and the coercive tactics of power.

In a series of lectures delivered at the *Collège de France* in 1978, published as a volume entitled "*Security, Territory, Population*" (2007),[8] Foucault examines the foundations and evolutions of the new technologies of power that governments increasingly began to exercise over populations. In this work, Foucault explores the history of the art of government as it evolved in the West from the first centuries of the Christian era to the emergence of the modern nation-state. Most specifically, Foucault is interested in the phenomenon of what he terms "bio-power," defined as

the "set of mechanisms through which, starting from the eighteenth century, the basic biological features of the human species became the object of a political strategy" (*STP* 1). Foucault's analyses involve investigating "where and how, between whom, between what points, according to what processes, and with what effects power is applied" (*STP* 2). Foucault's is not an institution-centric approach, however. His study eschews the idea that the state should be viewed as a set of hierarchical structures and organizational principles with an internal logic that animates them. Instead, Foucault, chooses to employ a "genealogical approach," according to which he examines the technologies of power and attempts to understand them in relation to the broader socio-cultural context in which they operate. His is a process which re-constructs the technologies of power in "a whole network of alliances, communications, and points of support" (*STP* 117). Foucault's procedures abandon the simplicity of having a ready-made object to study. Instead, they involve "grasping the movement by which a field of truth with objects of knowledge [is] constituted by mobile technologies" (*STP* 118). James and Loy have a similar interest. Their texts look beyond the juridical institutions, laws, and regulations by which citizenship is defined, to consider the correlations between and motivations behind multiple different discursive practices and instruments of governmentality that, together, fix identities, mould certain conceptions of citizenship, and exert actual relations of force.

Foucault's lectures further consider the possibilities for counter-conducts capable of opposing what he describes as "bonds of obedience to the state," or what James and Loy might characterize as the bonds of citizenship. By "de-institutionalizing" and "de-functionalizing" relations of power, by understanding "the way they are formed and connect up with each other, develop, multiply, and are transformed," Foucault argues, "we can [see] the respect in which and why they are unstable ... endlessly modified by the action of numerous factors" (*STP* 119). It is their very

instability, he insists, that opens up prospects for various forms of resistance. This chapter explores James's and Loy's political agendas in the context of their narrative and poetic methods, which form an integral part of their personal attempts to expose the impact of nationalist ideology on defining—and the influence of literary discourse in either reinforcing or potentially destabilizing—various constructions of the concept of citizenship. Brief biographical sketches of James's and Loy's lives, followed by an overview of Foucault's understanding of governmentality, help to put the subsequent analyses of the literary works into a wider cultural context and broader philosophical perspective.

I. Biographical Sketches

It is difficult to imagine two more different, yet fascinating characters than Henry James and Mina Loy. Both lived peripatetic lives and both were highly influenced by—and influential on—the growing transatlantic cross-cultural currents of their day. James was born 15 April 1843 to a prominent and affluent American family.[9] His early years were spent moving among Manhattan, Geneva, Paris, London, Newport, Rhode Island, and Boston. His first signed tale, "The Story of a Year," was published in March 1865 in the *Atlantic Monthly*,[10] the magazine that would publish James's stories, reviews, and serialized novels for the next half century. That same year, James began writing reviews for the newly founded *Nation*,[11] in which he was to publish anonymously for more than fifteen years.

In his late twenties, already an acclaimed short story writer at home, James embarked on a year-long "grand tour" of Europe (1869-70), where through his friendship with Charles Eliot Norton, editor of the *North American Review*,[12] he was introduced to a number of well-known figures including Leslie Stephen, George Eliot, John Ruskin, Dante Gabriel Rossetti, Edward Burne-Jones, William Morris, and Charles Darwin. James subsequently left America to live and work in Paris, where he

secured a position as a correspondent for the *New York Tribune*.[13] A year later, James decided to move to London, where he felt less of an outsider and where, aside from two brief trips back to the States at the time of his mother and father's deaths in 1882, he would remain for the next two decades.

It was living in London's Piccadilly district that James completed the novels that would secure his fame on both sides of the Atlantic. His biographer, Leon Edel,[14] reports that in England, James was lionized in social circles, elected to London clubs, and taken up by the leading late Victorian writers, artists, thinkers, and politicians of the day.[15] By this time, his stories were being published simultaneously in English and American periodicals, yielding him a substantial income, as well as establishing him as an important figure in Anglo-American literary and artistic relations. His recurring theme was the encounter between American and European cultures. In the 1880s and 1890s, James wrote the famed novels of his middle years.[16] This period was followed by what is known as James's "major" phase, which was marked by the publication of three important works of fiction: *The Wings of the Dove* (1902), *The Ambassadors* (1903), and *The Golden Bowl* (1904). It is in these masterpieces, Edel claims, that "James pointed the way for the 20th-century novel" (*Encyclopædia* n.p.).

A so-called "fourth phase" of James's career refers to the primarily non-fictional projects he undertook late in life. In 1905-06, he was writing *The American Scene*, the account of his travels down the east coast of the United States in 1904-05. Following his return to London, James embarked on a three-year project "to shore up his own writings and career," rewriting and revising his principal novels and tales for "the highly selective" twenty-four volumes of the "New York Edition" that was originally published in the US and the UK between 1907 and 1909. To accompany the works which comprised this edition, James wrote eighteen significant prefaces containing "an exposition of his theories of fiction" (Edel, *Encyclopædia*

n.p.).[17] Much of James's energy in this latter phase was devoted to controlling his legacy and the way he wanted his texts to be read. In 1909, James burnt more than forty years' worth of personal correspondence and papers. He would destroy many more letters and photographs late in 1915, shortly before his death. James died in London, 26 February 1916, but his ashes were buried in a Cambridge, Massachusetts cemetery.[18]

Mina Loy was profiled as the quintessential "Modern Woman" in an article that appeared in the *New York Evening Sun* in 1916.[19] Born Mina Gertrude Lowy in England, 27 December 1882, eldest child of Julia Bryan (d. 1942) and Sigmund Lowy (1849-1917), Loy was raised in a conservative, late-Victorian household. Her English mother was an evangelical Christian and her father, a Hungarian Jew and tailor by trade. Loy's struggles with her oppressive upbringing are the subject of her semi-autobiographical poem "Anglo-Mongrels and the Rose." Escaping to Europe, Lowy began her career as an artist. In Paris, she enrolled at the *Académie Colarossi* and, under her newly adopted name of Loy, began exhibiting watercolours. Following the 1906 *Salon D'Automne*, she was invited to become a *sociétaire* of the salon's drawing section, "an exceptional mark of recognition for an unknown English woman of twenty-three" (Burke 101).

A central figure in the avant-garde art movements of the 1910s and 1920s, Loy associated with the bohemian intellectual communities in pre-war Montparnasse, Paris and later, living in Florence, she was introduced to such luminaries as the wealthy American art patron Mabel Dodge, experimental writer Gertrude Stein, and journalist and novelist Carl Van Vechten, who became her New York agent. In Italy, Loy also became involved with the leaders of the Futurist movement. Her brief affiliation with the Futurists helped to shape her experiments with typography and free verse, yet, her "Feminist Manifesto," written in 1914, parodied the militarist, masculinist stance of their "Futurist Manifesto" (1909).[20] Her first poems, which she

began to produce about the same time as her "Manifesto," were shocking sexual and social satires.[21] By 1915-1916, her writings had begun to appear in major modernist periodicals such as *Camera Work*, *International*, *Others*, *Trend*, and *Rogue*.[22]

When Loy arrived in New York in 1916, her reputation as a Futurist preceded her. There, as a member of the Arensberg circle, she was connected with Dadaists and Surrealists. Her friends included Marcel Duchamp, Djuna Barnes, Alfred Kreymborg, Man Ray, Wallace Stevens, and Alfred Steiglitz. At various times in her creative enterprises, she engaged with the work of Wyndham Lewis, James Joyce, Constantin Brancusi, Richard Oelze, and Jules Pascin. Fluent in English, French, Italian, and German, Loy was intelligent and multi-talented (and strikingly beautiful). In 1921, Ezra Pound claimed that Loy, Marianne Moore, and William Carlos Williams were the only artists in America writing "'anything of interest in verse'" (Pound 168). More than one critic has since identified the influence of Loy's poetry on other Modernists' work, including that of T. S. Eliot and e.e. cummings.[23] At the time, however, many derided the artistic and sexual license she took in her daring experiments with language, form, and subject matter. Aggressive in her challenging of traditional gender norms and radical in her distrust of bourgeois values, Loy was always pushing boundaries and continually reinventing herself.

In 1923, Robert McAlmon's Contact Editions published her first book of poems, *Lunar Baedecker* [sic],[24] and the same year, the first three sections of "Anglo-Mongrels and the Rose" appeared in the *Little Review*.[25] After 1925, publication of her poems became less frequent. Loy turned her interests to the decorative arts, and with Peggy Guggenheim's financial support, opened a lampshade business in Paris but by 1936, with war looming in Europe, Loy returned to the States. As Virginia Kouidis reports, Loy "felt alien in the American metropolis" (*American National Biography Online*, Feb., 2000), and she moved into a communal household in one of the poorest areas of lower Manhattan. Influenced by Joseph

Cornell, whose "box" creations she admired, Loy began making unusual art *assemblages* from trash and other *objets trouvés*.[26] She was also again writing poems, this time about the derelict and the destitute, the homeless, or itinerant artists, vagrants, and drunken bohemians who congregated in the Bowery district where she lived. Although she continued to write up until the time of her death at age eighty-three, 25 September 1966, Loy was virtually forgotten by the mid-1930s. Modernist scholars have recently revived her reputation.

It is intriguing that James and Loy—the former, an expatriate most of his life; the latter, a woman who spent only a brief time in America before settling there at age fifty-four—have both been claimed as American writers. Much of James's work was published in the New England-based *Atlantic Monthly*, whose founding aim was the "shaping of a national literature." Despite long absences from America, James contributed substantially to the magazine's goal. As Susan Goodman explains, "culture for James came best into relief through comparison, with Europe and America providing the other's measure." James's work seeks to define American identity, but always, specifically, in relation to foreign culture, and never without a thorough examination of "'the historical process that lies behind it'. [James explores] the accretion over time of the manners, values, rituals, and thinking" that make one country distinct from another (Goodman, web n.p.). A prolific narrative theorist and critic, James was concerned throughout his life with the elevation of the arts and the professionalization of literature.

Marjorie Perloff has described Loy as "the prototype of the deracinated cosmopolite" ("English" 194). Given Loy's itinerant lifestyle, it seems odd—incorrect—that Ezra Pound would declare her work "a distinctly national product"—an "oeuvre" that "couldn't come out of any other country" but America ("List" 424-425). Yet numerous scholars since have agreed with Pound's classification of Loy as an American artist.[27] Certainly, as Perloff points out, it is significant that Loy was closely

linked to American expatriate literary circles in Europe; from the outset, it was American little magazines that mainly published her work. Perloff contends, however, that what makes Loy "so curiously 'American' ... is her invention of an intricately polyglot language—a language that challenges the conventional national idiom of her British (as well as her French or Italian, or, paradoxically, even her American) contemporaries" ("English" 133).

Like James, Loy was an avid writer throughout her life, not only of poetry but also stories, essays, drama, criticism, and cultural commentary. Yet, unlike James, who looks wistfully back to a more "genteel" time and a more class-conscious and homogeneous conception of "civilized life" which, for him, is symbolized in the old, established order of European society, Loy, as Rachel Potter observes, "often presents the past as a prison from which it is important to break free" ("Introduction" 4). In her "Feminist Manifesto" (1914), Loy herself insists, "There is NO scratching on the rubbish heap of tradition that will bring about REFORM" (*LOS* 153). Potter also notes that, by the same token, Loy "never celebrates modernity as ... progress":

> the ready-made positions offered by her peers seem no less suspect to Loy than those handed down from her predecessors.... She ridicules a wide range of contemporary movements and ideas ... such as Feminism, Futurism, Imperialism, Christianity, Judaism, fascism and psychoanalysis.... [She also derides] sentimentalism, femininity, masculinity, Art and philanthropy.... Yet these attacks never seem simply to cohere to produce a single critical position, something which we might call Loy's politics.... [M]any of her targets share common ground. All forms of authority or fixed identity are destabilized by Loy's writing, especially when she detects posturing or egoism.... In such moments, she reveals a sophisticated

> awareness of how different ideologies prop each other up to create damaging forms of psychological and emotional stasis and violence. (*Salt* 4)

Loy shares with Foucault a fierce determination to expose all forms of external and internal tyranny: the authority figures, as well as the social and ethical conventions, which rule people's lives.

Both James's and Loy's texts manifest the idea that people's identities, conduct, and beliefs are shaped by governmental forces. The following section examines Foucault's theories regarding the art of government and considers the ways in which they are relevant to James's and Loy's work. Foucault's critique of governmentality demonstrates how the life of the nation must be secured through the production of homogeneity and difference. Bio-power operates through various forms of racism, xenophobia, elitism, and misogyny, which ultimately serve the interests of the state by cementing the distinctions between citizenship and alienage. As this chapter will demonstrate, Foucault's lectures echo a number of the themes that James and Loy explore.

II. Foucault and the Art of Government

In *Security, Territory, Population*, Foucault sketches out what he identifies as "a very complex transformation of Western reason" (286). A whole new way of thinking about the art of government emerged in the theory of the late eighteenth century *économistes*, one that opposed "almost term by term" the forms of power which had been prevalent in the West since the second or third millennium (*STP* 347). Foucault focuses on the rational bases and evolution of three different models or methods of governing: royal power or sovereignty, Christian or pastoral power, and disciplinary or police power. His work considers how all of these were "points of support on the basis of which that fundamental phenomenon in the history of the West, the governmentalization of the state, could be produced" (*STP* 110).

Royal power is the direct exercise of the sovereign's authority over people who are her/his subjects. Sovereignty is exercised within a territory using legal or juridical mechanisms that almost always take the form of prohibition and punishment. The objective of sovereignty is the protection and preservation of the "prince" and his principality. Pastoral power, introduced to the Western world by way of the Christian church, Foucault claims, is "a type of power unknown to any other civilization" (*STP* 129). It is a form of power exercised over a "flock," or "a multiplicity in movement," rather than a territory (*STP* 126). It claims to guide people, cradle to grave, in their daily lives, on the grounds of a transitional aim: leading them to eternal salvation. Importantly, it is an "individualizing power," one that must keep its eyes on the good of all and the good of each, "*omnes et singulatim*" (*STP* 128). It is therefore a power the stated purpose of which is the welfare of those over whom it watches, *not* the welfare of some kind of superior unit like the territory, state, or ruling personage. Although it proclaims to be entirely beneficent, Foucault notes, the pastorate, like other forms of power, is "characterized by omnipotence and by the wealth and splendour of the symbols with which it clothes itself" (*STP* 126).[28] Constantly refined and developed over centuries, the pastorate, constituted as a religion, institutionalized as the Church, forms an apparatus of power that has had a significant and persistent influence on Western society's view of itself. Indeed, Foucault notes, the pastorate has never yet "experienced the process of profound revolution that would have definitively expelled it from history" (*STP* 150):

> Of all civilizations, the Christian West has undoubtedly been, at the same time, the most creative, the most conquering, the most arrogant, and doubtless the most bloody. At any rate, it has certainly been one of the civilizations which has deployed the greatest violence. *But at the same time*

> *over millennia Western man has learned to see himself as a sheep in the flock*. (*STP* 130; emphasis mine)

The pastoral form of power plays a large role in the fundamental docility of populations, which the new arts of government are able to exploit.

Foucault claims that although what he refers to as the "two great forms of universality"—Empire and Church—did not disappear, they certainly "lost their vocation and meaning, at least at the level of universality" (*STP* 291). He connects this to discursive practices, scientific discoveries, and the gradual unfolding of a more intelligible world which, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, began rationally to question the concepts of anthropomorphism and God's direct sovereignty over people. Most specifically, however, Foucault attributes the change to a particular historical event: the signing in 1648 of the *Treaty of Westphalia*.[29] The treaty, which officially recognized the breakup of the Roman Catholic Church arising from the Reformation, was the result of long and intense negotiations between the European powers. Marking the end of the Holy Roman Empire, it establishes, for the first time, the territorial superiority of the state. States, "in their politics, choices, and alliances, no longer have to band together in accordance with their religious adherence," Foucault argues,

> This is the reality on which the principle that we exist within a temporally open and multiple state space is articulated. We are now dealing with absolute units, as it were, with no subordination or dependence between them, at least for the major states, and ... these units assert themselves, or anyway seek to assert themselves, in a space of increased, extended, and intensified economic exchange ... a space of commercial competition and domination, ... a space of monetary circulation, colonial conquest, and control of the seas. (*STP* 291)

For Foucault, this new independence of jurisdictions raises the problem of the forms of activity conducting people in their private and public domains, outside of monarchical and ecclesiastical authority, yet within a world made up of a plurality of states, where each state strives for its own preservation and expansion while seeking that delicate *equilibrium* of the whole that would allow all to exist in a milieu of perpetual peace.

Foucault notes the introduction of the idea of "economy"—that is, "the proper way of managing individuals, goods, and wealth like the management of a family and household by a father who knows how to direct his wife, his children, and his servants, who knows how to make his family's fortune prosper, and how to arrange suitable alliances for it" (*STP* 94-95). Political reasoning, as initially formulated, focuses on this management of "a dynamic of forces" (*STP* 296) in a number of institutions and settings. Western societies erect mechanisms designed to maximize the state's strength through a series of external, provisional, and political alliances, while at the same time preserving its internal good order by orienting people's activities in directions that are useful to the state.

Foucault claims that two main instruments or "mechanism[s] of security" evolve to help states maintain this equilibrium of forces: the first are a set of "military-diplomatic organizations"—a means of consultation between states in the form of "ambassadors," who could help settle conflicts and preserve relations, backed by "a permanent military apparatus" that makes the threat of war a diplomatic instrument (*STP* 306, 303, 305). The second great assemblage is that of the "police." The basic aim of police practice, as "police" was understood in the seventeenth and first half of the eighteenth centuries, is "the organization of the relation between a population and the production of commodities," the management of the whole problem of "exchange, circulation, manufacture, and marketing of goods" (*STP* 312, 338). The establishment of the police is "absolutely inseparable

from a governmental theory and practice that is generally labeled mercantilism, that is to say, a technique and calculation for strengthening the power of competing European states through the development of commerce and the new vigor given to commercial relations" (*STP* 337). Police power is very broad power, linked to the size and fertility of the population, the ensuring of health and the necessities of life, the circulation of goods, the prevention of idleness and vagrancy, and the regulation of the professions—in short, "all forms of man's coexistence with each other" (*STP* 326). It is important to note, however, that "police" is not the same as juridical power. It is a power that "is exercised and functions in the name of and in terms of the principles of its own rationality, without having to mould or model itself on the otherwise given rules of justice" (*STP* 339). It does not operate through the judiciary apparatus (although it utilizes it); rather it intervenes in a regulatory manner to control every aspect of people's lives for the benefit of the state. As Foucault observes: we are in a world of action and intervention, of "indefinite regulation, of permanent, continually renewed, and increasingly detailed regulation." In short, "we are in the world ... of discipline" (*STP* 340).

Foucault contends that the eighteenth century *économistes* developed a completely different way of conceptualizing the art of government. The thinking of the *économistes,* he suggests, "introduces us to some of the fundamental lines of modern and contemporary governmentality" (*STP* 348). The problems of government, re-situated in a space of circulation, become an issue of protecting and managing ever-growing and ever more mobile populations and this, in turn, becomes a question of economics. The *économistes* treat population as an object of government but, crucially, they recognize population as an essentially and fundamentally productive force. Population, if considered to be the basis of the state's wealth and power, becomes an important instrument of government. The *économistes* grasp that personal desire is a key principle of human nature and the

primary driver of one's behaviour. They formulate the theory that given free reign, "desire" (the pursuit of private interest which motivates individual action) will generally produce the most favourable economic situation. The *économistes*, therefore, encourage private competition, *laisser faire* economics, and free trade between countries as policies from which both the population and the state will benefit.

This new way of thinking has several important consequences for the operation of government and the concept of citizenship. First, the notion of population as a "collection of individual subjects is replaced by the notion of population as a set of natural phenomena" (Foucault, *STP* 352). As a result, citizens' rights begin to be downplayed in relation to what is deemed necessary for the nation as a whole.

Secondly, population as an entity in and of itself starts to be studied in scientific terms: in terms of economics, public health, and problems of demography. Statistics start to reveal that the population possesses its own regularities, such as birth rate, labour capacity, incidence of disease. As well, the population begins to be understood as a set of natural processes "specific to man's life in common ... to what happens spontaneously when [people] co-habit, come together, exchange, work, and produce" (*STP* 349). These processes are relative rather than fixed: "there is an optimum number of people desirable in a given territory and this desirable number varies according to the resources, the available work, and the consumption necessary and sufficient to bolster prices and the economy generally" (*STP* 345). Population has its own internal mechanisms of regulation which, over time, always seek to find or restore *equilibrium*. The claim to scientific rationality by the eighteenth century *économistes* is what supports this new form of governmentality and results in the alliance of two formerly separate domains. It establishes an art of government that explicitly links knowledge and power, science and politics. Foucault

observes, in particular, that racism is vital to the state's success, and racist attitudes and policies are partly justified in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries by the same kind of scientific discourses that support governmentality.

Thirdly comes the recognition that because the state serves to gain by these so-called "natural" processes, government must now respect them, take them into account, and work with them. This involves creative management as opposed to simple control. Thus the concept of "*civil society*, *society as this field of the processes natural to man, emerges as the vis-à-vis of the state*" (*STP* 349; emphasis mine). The maintenance of "civil society," rather than the rule of a set of submissive subjects, becomes the object of good government. The need to protect the proper functioning of civil society rationalizes the requirement for "mechanisms of security."

The importation of science into governmental practice introduces the concepts of risks and probabilities, costs and benefits. State intervention, in the case of danger or disruption to the operation of the economy, no longer has the simple aim of blanket elimination of any threat. Instead, it involves a prediction of the likelihood of events and a plotting of possible outcomes for the population as a whole. Finer analyses establish expectations by class of population. These analyses help determine government policy, justify intervention where required, and rationalize where and how resources can be most efficiently and effectively deployed. Scientific calculations of this kind are the key features of new mechanisms of security inaugurated by the state. Their objective is the protection of populations. Individual citizen and minority group rights and interests only count to the extent that they fall in line with what is in the best economic and political interest of both the overall population *and* the state.

Almost half a century before Foucault, James and Loy were exploring many of the same political trends and ideas. This chapter argues that James's *The American Scene*, his late fictional work *The Ambassadors,* and Loy's long poem "Anglo-

Mongrels and the Rose" can all be read as stories of economic technology and management at the level of population. James's and Loy's works examine the way power is exercised in the context of the nation; however, as Mark Seltzer has suggested, the very idea of the nation is a relational one in the age of *homo economicus*. Understanding the concepts of nation and citizenship demands a broader, international worldview. James's and Loy's texts could only have been written against such a cosmopolitan economic and political backdrop. The following sections consider the ways in which the various elements of Foucault's theories of governmentality can be usefully applied to James's and Loy's works: how the concept of the nation is constituted; how commercial relations drive the nation's operation; how national identities become exclusive and fixed. Furthermore, it examines the methods by which nations establish and maintain power; how populations become the object of political strategy; the ways in which human desire is both encouraged and exploited for the benefit of the state; how a continual state of equilibrium is sought, how so-called "civil" society is defined and defended, and finally, how measures of security are invoked to protect against external threat and mitigate risk. These—along with the contemplation of possibilities for resistance—are key themes of James's and Loy's critiques of citizenship in a nationalist context.

III. The "Making of Americans"[30]

The American Scene is a compendium of James's reflections upon a relatively young country's bold experiment with nation-building. At the beginning of the new century when James was writing, vast waves of European immigration, combined with mass movements of African Americans following the post-Civil War abolition of slavery, were bringing enormous changes to the economic, social, and cultural landscape of America. Returning from abroad in 1904, James was to discover that "value," "meaning," and "importances" [were] "all strikingly shifted and reconstituted

in the United States, for the visitor attuned, from far back to 'European importances'" (*TAS* 468). By the early 1900s, the attempt to define the nation and to delineate the terms of American identity had become a pointed and purposeful political project. As then-president Theodore Roosevelt described it, the objective was "not to imitate one of the older racial types, but to [establish] a new American type" and to "secure loyalty to ... *the American race*" ("Speech" 1907; emphasis mine). Roosevelt's remarks are very revealing in that they lay bare the then-common presumption that nationalistic discourse had to be racialized. Roosevelt's speech is illustrative of the way in which biology is so often co-opted for political purposes.

James scholar Sara Blair notes that "in his extensive observation of American manners, institutions, and public life in *The American Scene* ... [James] records numerous scenes in which the making of Americans—of American 'race,' of American culture, of American civic fate—is enacted" ("Documenting" 157-8). James's descriptions stress the conscious and constructed nature of national identity and cultural filiation. His work records the way various institutions and different, sometimes quite diverse, discourses combine, collude, and collaborate to cement the concept of the nation and the new American "type," which was, parenthetically, unquestionably "white." In *The American Scene*, James critically assesses and opposes the politically and economically motivated social engineering of citizenship that, he concludes, this state-orchestrated project represents.

James's concern is with America's "melting pot" approach to citizenship,[31] which he views as being deeply disturbing evidence of the way in which evolving forms of power operate. Early in his tour, James visits "terrible little Ellis Island, the first harbor of refuge and stage of patience for the million or so of immigrants annually knocking at our official door" (*TAS* 425). There, he witnesses the drama that goes on "without a pause, day by day and year by year, this visible act of

ingurgitation[32] on the part of our body politic"—"the ceaseless process of the recruiting of our race, of the plenishing of our huge national *pot au feu*, of the introduction of fresh ... foreign matter into our heterogeneous system" (*TAS* 426, 408). While James uses the word heterogeneous due to the numerous foreign elements involved, it is in fact homogeneity, not heterogeneity, that becomes normative in the production of the citizen. James's text documents the workings of "the great assimilative organism" (*TAS* 461) of the state, which subjects these would-be citizens to "a hundred forms and ceremonies, grindings and grumblings of the key, [as] they stand appealing and waiting, marshalled, herded, divided, subdivided, sorted, sifted, searched, [and] fumigated for longer and shorter periods" (*TAS* 426).[33] James notes that "in the first grossness of their alienism, ... there is no claim to brotherhood," yet, with time, under the influence of the prodigious processes for forging "American" identity, the aliens are re-shaped and re-constituted: "[t]he material of which they consist is being dressed and prepared, at this stage, [precisely] for brotherhood." As James observes, "[t]he machinery is colossal—nothing is more characteristic of the country than the development of this machinery, in the form of the political and social habit, the common school and the newspaper; so that there are always millions of little *transformed strangers* growing up" in this newly delineated nation (*TAS* 455; emphasis mine). Assisted by the education system and the many forms of institutional and cultural discourse which promote the national agenda, "[t]he fusion as of elements in a solution in a vast hot pot is always going on" (*TAS* 452).

What James particularly laments in *The American Scene* is the "monstrous form of Democracy" that these integrative processes have at their core: the "political," "civic," and "economic" workings of "democratic institutions" that "determine and qualify manners, feelings, communications, modes of contact and conceptions of life" (401). He bemoans the "great equalizing pressure" (*TAS* 460) of

a system that is constituted by the regulative rule of the norm. The America James encounters seems "a vast simplified scheme" (*TAS* 605), the success of which he attributes to the American "genius for organization" (*TAS* 443), which demands and cultivates, among all its citizens, certain prescribed norms of behaviour. Everywhere he goes, James is struck by "the jealous cultivation of the common mean, the common mean only, the reduction of everything to an average of decent suitability" (*TAS* 717). The "wonder," he insists, is "whether there be, comparatively, in the vastly greater number of the representatives of the fresh contingent, any spirit that the American does not find an easy prey" (*TAS* 459).

As Foucault would do later, James describes this form of disciplinary power as possessing the "complexity of a web"[34]—"the aspect [it] ... wears is indescribable." He can only compare it to "the ceaseless play of an enormous system of steam-shuttles or electric bobbins ... commensurate in form with their infinite work" or "some colossal set of clockworks, some steel-souled machine-room of brandished arms and hammering fists and opening and closing jaws" (*TAS* 418).
James recognizes that everywhere he wanders "[t]here are a thousand forms of this ubiquitous American force" (*TAS* 443): "The process of the mitigation and, still more, of the conversion of the alien goes on," incessantly (*TAS* 458). James likens this panoptic power of the state to that of an orchestral leader "conscious of every note of every instrument, controlling and commanding the whole volume of sound, keeping the whole effect together and making it what it is." All the while, "the boundless American material" with which it "plays" takes on the appearance of "an army of puppets" who, despite the "pulling" and "agitation of their members," unsuspectingly think of themselves "as delightfully free and easy" (*TAS* 444).

Travelling through America, James seeks to obtain an understanding of the power of "the master-spirits of management ... whose influence [is] in the very air," as well as a "sense of the elements in the cauldron—the cauldron of the 'American'

character" (*TAS* 456). Initially, he is deeply unsettled by the vast changes that confront him in a country he thought he knew. In New York City, the sights, sounds, and smells emanating from the "dense Yiddish quarter" assault and overwhelm him. On lower east-side Rutgers Street, James confronts the "luridly strong ... swarming ambiguity and fugacity of race and tongue" of the New York ghetto (*TAS* 520). In that "crowded hustled roadway ... multiplication, multiplication of everything was the dominant note.... The children swarmed above all—here was multiplication with a vengeance" (*TAS* 464). With all this seeming "overflow"—"no district in the world known to the statistician has so many inhabitants to the yard"—"'architecture'" has gone by the boards. The iron ladders and platforms of the fire escapes take on, for James, the aspect of a "spaciously organized cage for the nimbler class of animals in some great zoological garden." The denizens of the "swarming little square"[35] strike James as "small strange animals, known to natural history, snakes or worms," whom he imagines, "when cut into pieces, wriggle away contentedly and live in the snippet as completely as in the whole." Is it, he wonders, the "unsurpassed strength of the [Jewish] race [that] permits of the chopping into myriads of fine fragments without the loss of race-quality?" (*TAS* 465). In such dehumanizing descriptions, James enlists the support of multiple forms of scientific discourse to support what amounts to a blatantly racist, primitivist point-of-view.

Having lived in Europe in rather genteel circumstances for much of his adult life, James had been conditioned to seeing the foreigner in a much different light.[36] Thus, coming across a group of Italian "ditchers and diggers" on the Jersey shore, James wonders what has become of that element of "agreeable address in *them* which has, from far back, so enhanced for the stranger the interest and pleasure of a visit to their beautiful country" (*TAS* 462). James complains that in America, "the element of communication with workers [—] that element which, in a European country, would have operated, from side to side, as the play of mutual recognition,

founded on old familiarities and heredities"—is completely absent (*TAS* 454). "[O]nly a mechanism working with scientific force," he concludes, "could have performed this feat of making them colourless" (*TAS* 462). The loss James laments, it seems, is the fond, time-honoured tradition of class and racial superiority and respect.

While James's criticism of the normative, assimilative process is that it reduces everything to a "common denominator" (*TAS* 522), what truly offends him is the shift in power relations which challenges his personal sense of stature and identity. As he repeatedly notes, everywhere he goes, "the alien [seems] truly in possession: ... Is not the universal sauce essentially *his* sauce, and do we not feel ourselves feeding, half the time from the ladle, as greasy as he chooses to leave it for us[?]" (*TAS* 453). In a system designed not to exclude but rather to incorporate the foreign element, James asks, "Who and what is an alien? ... [W]here does one put a finger on the dividing line? ... [How does one] identify any particular phase of the conversion?" With the alien "becoming absorbed in the surrounding element" (*TAS* 458), the "democratic consistency, consummately and immitigably complete" (*TAS* 401), James perceives his privileged status as an American to have been somehow downgraded. Feeling assailed as if by "a huge applied sponge, a sponge saturated with the foreign mixture" that soaks up "almost everything [he] remember[s] and might still have recovered" (*TAS* 545-46), what James fears most is the merging and effacement of class and ethnic/racialized difference. While James "thought he knew before, thought he had the sense of the degree in which it is his American fate to share the sanctity of his American consciousness, the intimacy of his American patriotism, with the inconceivable alien; ... the truth had never come home to him with any such force" (*TAS* 426).

There would, moreover, appear to be "no escape from submersion" (*TAS* 411), "no escape from the ubiquitous alien into the future, or even into the present; there was an escape but into the past" (428). As James soon realizes, however, the

last option is also blocked, because history has been "amputated." Visiting his birthplace in Washington Square, New York, James finds the "the felicities of the backward reach," the "'hallowed' University building" and the adjacent houses "now torn down and vanished from the earth" (*TAS* 431). (Likewise, Boston is no longer "the small homogeneous Boston of the more interesting time" (*TAS* 545).) The "high, square, impersonal structure[s]" of the skyscrapers of New York signify for James "a huge continuous, fifty-floored conspiracy against the very idea of the ancient graces, those that strike us as having flourished just in proportion as the parts of life and the signs of character have *not* been lumped together, not been indistinguishably sunk in the common fund of mere economic convenience" (*TAS* 431, 432).

Ironically, while James condemns the generalizing and centralizing force that operates to exclude any "happy deviations from the regular" (*TAS* 555), he longs for "consanguity," which really amounts merely to a different form of homogeneity. Simply put, "consanguity" for James is racial purity. "Consanguity," he argues, "provides the marks and features, the type and tone and ease, the common knowledge and the common consciousness" that compose a society "without complications or interferences"—such a society as might be found in the "close and sweet and whole national consciousness ... of the Switzer [or] the Scot" (*TAS* 583, 428). Tellingly, the "social equilibrium" James longs for is as much his own as the general population's, and the "common consciousness" he lobbies for is specifically that of the privileged, white class (584). James speaks reverently of those rare places where he finds no trace of "the foreign element" (586). He praises the city of Philadelphia as being such a place precisely because its population is so predominantly WASPish—a "settled and confirmed and content ... human group ... *able to discriminate in [its] own favour*." This, he insists, is what "*makes* a society": the "*organic* social relations it represents" (*TAS* 582-83; emphasis mine). Only in a homogeneously peopled place like Philadelphia can James contemplate the "soothing

truth" of a city "solely and singly itself" (*TAS* 586). In effect, in promoting the concept of "consanguity," James advances an argument for the preservation of a nation and citizenship founded on principles of racial and class superiority.

Faced not only with "the foreign element" (*TAS* 486)—aliens streaming into the country, "disembarked Armenians," "Croatians," "China[men]," "Calabrians" (*TAS* 462), "strangers with a dark-eyed Latin look" (*TAS* 455), and "a Jewry that [has] burst all bounds" (*TAS* 464)—James is also deeply unnerved by disturbing signs that "Negroes" and members of the female sex seemingly no longer know their place. Disembarking from a train in Richmond, Virginia, James is compelled to consider the "African type" in the form of a group of "tatterdemalion darkies," presumptuously "loung[ing] and sunn[ing] themselves," while he awaits his luggage. These figures represent, for James, "the Southern black as we knew him not, ... ragged and rudimentary, yet all portentous and 'in possession of his rights as a man.'" The brazen assertion of the Negro's claim to equality strikes James forcefully and "suddenly" like "some beast that [has] sprung from the jungle" (*TAS* 662).[37] Other scenes in the South where "black teamsters" now seem to be "in charge" emphasize "with every degree of violence" for James "that already-apprehended note of the negro really at home" (*TAS* 664).

In a separate but similar vein, standing in Harvard Square, in Cambridge, Massachusetts, James considers the changing relations between the sexes as women begin to join the ranks of men in the universities and the professions.[38] Most vivid for James is the realization that American life now manifests itself as "a society of women ... 'located' in a world of men," a society of women who are becoming ever more at home in the public domain. James keenly regrets this new state of affairs, which he finds "so different a matter from a collection of men of the world; the men supplying, as it were, all the canvas, and the women all the embroidery" (*TAS* 410). One can discern in James's words a particular pleasure in re-situating ("fencing-off,"

confining) symbolic female figures within or to a domestic sphere. Yearning for the "old ideal and classic ... feminine attitude"—that lovely female "air of meeting you everywhere, standing in wait everywhere, yet always without conscious defiance, only in mild submission" (*TAS* 372-73)—James trembles at the thought of what these changing power relations might mean for the future constitution of American "civil" society.

Interestingly, James perceives that the problems facing government stem primarily from the burgeoning population, an explosive growth in numbers, and the need to deal with "multiplicity in movement" (Foucault, *STP* 126). The issue is one not only of containment and control, but of harnessing these energies productively in the context of the national interest. In an America "peopled ... by migrations at once extremely recent, perfectly traceable and urgently required," disciplinary measures are an essential instrument of power; however, they only go so far in light of "this accepted vision of the too-defiant scale of numerosity and quantity—the effect of which is so to multiply the possibilities, so to open, by the million, contingent doors and windows" (*TAS* 456). Contemplating "such a prodigious amalgam, such a hotch-potch of racial ingredients," James reflects that "the country is too large for any human convenience ... there is too much of the whole thing for personal relation with it" (*TAS* 457). In this "land of the 'open door'" (*TAS* 407), the "*very possibilities of population* ... cause one to wince in light of the question of intercourse and contact" (*TAS* 457; emphasis mine). The difficulty with exclusive reliance on the disciplinary process, James decides, is that despite the size and power of "the hugest thinkable organism for successful assimilation," there is still the *impossibility*, in "[t]he country at large, as you cross it in different senses," of complete and comprehensive control: "the assimilative force itself still has the residuum to count with" (*TAS* 458). In the operation of this "immense" machine, "identical after all with the total of American life," there are always "those elements that are not elements of swift convertibility....

What," he wonders, "becomes ... of the obstinate, the unconverted residuum?" (*TAS* 458-59). The question leads James, as it later leads Foucault, to consider the changing nature of the art of government as he contemplates the way in which power evolves to deal with populations as a whole.

James remarks on the total absence, in America, of traditional forms of authority. Travelling through the New England countryside, he is struck by the "complete abolition of forms" (*TAS* 376), by which he means specifically the dissolution of those ancient establishments of Church and empire that (as Foucault also notes) had historically been the very embodiment of power. Comparing the American cultural topography to that of Europe, James notes the "difference made, in a land of long winters, by the suppression of the two great factors of the familiar English landscape, the squire and the parson" (*TAS* 375). The lack of these traditional forms of social structure strips everything in America of its "importance," and "significance." There is "no church," for example. Instead, the New England meeting-house, "very nearly as unconsecrated as the store or the town pump" and "so merely continuous and congruous, as to type and tone, with the common objects about it ... seems to blow the ground clear of the seated solidity of religion" (*TAS* 375). In place of a social order in which "feudalism had once struck deep" (*TAS* 376), James finds a much "simplified social order," a "standard," "democratic," "pettifogging consistency" (*TAS* 377, 401, 439), which results in "inordinate, untempered monotony" (*TAS* 442) with no opportunity for deviation. In the place of monarchy and religion, James discovers that the "presence which profits so for predominance, in America, ... [is] Business." The reason, he states, is precisely "the failure of concurrent and competitive presences, the failure of any others looming at all on the same scale save that of Business, those in particular of a visible Church, a visible State, a visible Society, a visible Past; those of the many visibilities, in short, that warmly cumber the ground in older countries" (*TAS* 467). In America, the main

drivers of the new art of government are money and the human desire for a better economic life.

Although striving for financial success is something that characterizes the citizen in *The American Scene*, the aspiration to affluence comes at a personal price —the loss of independence. Driving along what he describes as "the vast, featureless highway" of palatial houses being built by "German Jewry" along the Jersey Shore, the only feature that strikes James is their "extreme expensiveness" (*TAS* 362), their scale "affirming their wealth ... yet not at the same time affirming anything else." Costly as they are, James notes, the mansions display only "an air of unmitigated publicity": they afford "no achieved protection, no constituted mystery of retreat, no saving complexity, not so much as might be represented by a foot of garden wall or a preliminary sketch of interposing shade." Indeed, they produce only "the outward show of the fortunate life" where "there couldn't *be* any manners to speak of; ... [where] the basis of privacy [is] somehow wanting ... [and where there is] no image, no presumption of constituted relations, possibilities, amenities, in the social [or] the domestic order" (*TAS* 364). The sheer "crudity of their wealth" proclaims that they "have nothing to do with continuity, responsibility, transmission" (*TAS* 365). "Here," James declares, is "power by itself ... exerting itself in a void that could make it no response" (*TAS* 363).

What the state relies on, as the foundation for its success, is the unrelenting personal pursuit of financial gain, which fuels the functioning of the national economy:

> [T]he preliminary American postulate or basis for any successful accommodation of life ... is that of active pecuniary gain and of active pecuniary gain only.... What prevails, what sets the tune, is the American scale of gain, more magnificent than any other, and the fact that the whole assumption, the whole theory of life, is that of the individual's participation in

> it, that of his being more or less punctually and more or less effectually "squared." To make so much money that you won't, that you don't "mind," don't mind anything—that is absolutely, I think, the main American formula. (*TAS* 55)

This passage succinctly encapsulates the aim of the modern art of government: to harness people's energetic drive and enthusiasm for wealth in such a way that its development also fosters the strength of the nation. Yet, the endless allure of money, the ceaseless chasing of "castles," James warns, involves a "surrender ... to society," people "rush[ing] about ... in promiscuous packs and hustled herds" (*TAS* 551). It is interesting to note that while James in many respects foreshadows the way Foucault would later theorize the process of human subjugation to the state, he interprets its implications differently. For James, the governmental "machine" is anathema because it works against class privilege. James's choice of words, describing newcomer groups as "packs" and "herds," combined with the allusion to their mob-like mentality,[39] exposes his racist, elitist attitude toward "would-be" citizens of the United States.

There are those "aspirant[s] to the American condition," James maintains, who make so much money that the sheer scale of their wealth affords them the latitude to continue to "build their castles and move by their own motor cars," or alternatively, there are those, "the lower sort, masters of gain in *their* degree, [who] profit, also to their heart's content, by the enormous extension of those material facilities which may be gregariously enjoyed" (*TAS* 517, 551). Either way, the freedom to strive for the better life in America ironically results in submission to the greater impersonal goals of the nation. James observes that the "immense, vivid *general* lift of poverty" and "the living unit's rises in enjoyed value,"

> shrink and dwindle under the icy breath of Trusts and the weight of the new remorseless monopolies that operate as no madnesses of ancient personal

> power thrilling us on the historic page ever operated; the living unit's property in himself becoming more and more merely such a property as may consist with a relation to properties overwhelmingly greater and that allow the asking of no question and the making, for co-existence with them, of no conditions. (*TAS* 469)

Again, the use of such impersonal language is dehumanizing but it also emphasizes the extent to which James, like Foucault, sees the individual becoming a pawn of the state in this new age of governmentality.

The prospects are bleakest, however, for the "American who doesn't buy in to the system, who 'makes' too little for the castle and yet 'minds' too much for the hustled herd." Such a person, "in the native order, fails of a working basis" (*TAS* 550-51).[40] Being in this position, James asserts, "amounts to your being reduced to the knowledge that America is no place for you" (*TAS* 550). Citizenship, in social terms, depends on conformity to the crowd.[41]

The invisible workings of government that channel the population's desires are captured for James in the iconic forms of the Waldorf-Astoria hotel and "the hotel-like chain of Pullman railway cars" (688) that provide accommodation on his tour through America. Sara Blair explains that these public spaces were critical sites for the production of America and Americans[42]—most importantly, they provided a "civilizing function" (*TAS* 435). As she notes, and James cannily recognizes, "the culture of richness" they represent "crucially assists in the consolidation of America's bourgeoisie" (Blair 191). In their vivid displays of "wealth" and "material splendour," their "pretended majesties" and "conciliatory graces" (*TAS* 441), these hotel-worlds offered America's "newly moneyed ... entrepreneurial classes" a taste for "American modes of refinement" and a training in the ways and manners of genteel American life (Blair 194). The "amazing hotel-world quickly closes around [them]" and, "with the process of transition reduced to a minimum [they] are transported to conditions

of extraordinary complexity and brilliancy, operating—and with proportionate perfection—by laws of their own ... expressing after their fashion a complete scheme of life." The hotel-world stands, for James, as "a synonym for civilization" (*TAS* 440). Within its confines, the "master spirits of management" have to deal with human populations forever on the move, "hundreds and hundreds of people in circulation" (*TAS* 444, 443). Yet, this is "*a social order in positively stable equilibrium"*:

> here was a world whose relation to its form and medium was practically imperturbable; here was a conception of publicity as the vital medium organized with the authority with which the American genius for organization, put on its mettle, alone could organize it. (*TAS* 443; emphasis mine)

The ingenious administration of the hotel-world becomes an emblem for the technologies of social management that govern the project of Americanization.

James reflects on the nature of this "art" of governance that so subtly shapes the "evolution of the oncoming citizen." In its "omniscient genius," not only does it seek to tap into people's personal desires, "to gratify them as soon as they peep out," it also:

> lies in wait for them, anticipates them and plucks them forth even before they dawn, setting them up almost prematurely and turning their face in the right direction. Thus *the great national ignorance of many things is artfully and benevolently practiced upon; thus it is converted into extraordinary appetites*. (*TAS* 461, 715-716; emphasis mine)

In America, James testifies, the "*will to grow* [is] everywhere written large, and to grow at no matter what or whose expense" (*TAS* 400). The business of government, as part of the "American show," is not to intervene in this process but to capitalize on these energies. In an era of governmentality, the state's primary function is "the lubrication of the general machinery" while sustaining a system of supervision and control over the general population (*TAS* 441). Discipline, James observes, does not

go by the boards: "the condition, *for any member of the flock*, [is] that he or she—in other words especially she—be presumably '*respectable*,' be, that is, *not discoverably anything else*" (*TAS* 441; emphasis mine). In its evolving methods of operation, this form of power, for James, constitutes "something new under the sun" (*TAS* 667). He marvels at "the extent, the ease, [and] the energy" with which the technologies of government facilitate the construction of a national culture, the transformation of "foreign matter" into an "industrial workforce," the creation and refinement of American citizens. He notes that the processes involve a proliferation of the kinds of discourse in which "nature and science ... joyously rom[p] together" (*TAS* 416). An art of government that conscripts scientific rationality in the production and defense of so-called truth makes this a "particular type of *dauntless* power" (*TAS* 418; emphasis mine). Worth pointing out is the fact that James's description of the operations of government could as easily be applied to the workings of nineteenth-century racism—a reminder that James, unlike Loy, approaches his subject from a late-Victorian frame of mind.

James notes that to the "European mind" there is always the "practicability" of "maintaining ... 'differences,'" whereas the "American theory" is one of "universal eligibility." In the States, this principle, he censoriously observes, starts in the home, family life being "the eminent field of democratic demonstration." There, it seems, "the younger are 'as good' as the elder." One has only to extend this egalitarian philosophy from "child to parent, from sister to brother, from wife to husband, from employed to employer" to see how this "unit ... with its latent multiplications ... takes over."[43] But, as James asserts, "even the most inclusive social scheme must in a large community stop somewhere" (*TAS* 621). In the hotel-world, "the whole housed populace move as in mild and consenting suspicion of its captured and governed state, its having to consent to inordinate fusion as the price of what it seemed pleased to regard as inordinate luxury" (*TAS* 717). Cultural belonging

requires conformity to social norms. But, even in seemingly ultra-democratic America, there are *degrees* of citizenship.[44] There are, as James points out, "distinctions"—the most prominent being "the comparative ability to spend and purchase ... with freedom." This is particularly evident at the legendary Palm Beach oceanfront resorts where "'Society,' as we loosely use the word, is made up [only] of the fortunate few" (*TAS* 726).

At the opposite end of the scale are those who are excluded from most of citizenship's privileges. For all the power of the "huge white-washing brush" wielded by the great organ of "*democratic assimilation*," the value associated with "whiteness," or with becoming "American," James discerns, can only be understood relationally (*TAS* 605, 650). Whiteness can only be conceived in context of blackness;[45] the idea of inclusion necessarily presupposes exclusion. Sara Blair suggests that in his descriptions of national-life-in-microcosm played out on the Pullman trains, James shines a spotlight on this critical ingredient in the process of construction of the American citizen. As she points out, Pullman's work force was "drawn exclusively from the ranks of former slaves": Negro porters, "who could be forced to accept lower pay for work equal in difficulty and kind"; waiters whose job it was to provide "total personal attention" to the clients aboard and "affirm the social mastery of [their] white clients" (Blair 201-02). The scenes James evokes, she argues, go straight "to the heart of Pullman's nation-building logic, the commodity of black labor put on offer in the training of White America" (Blair 201). Not only does the Pullman-world construct "American" identity by defining "whiteness" in contrast to "blackness," it intentionally fosters fear about the ascendancy of the "negro race" and what this might mean for the "civil" life of the Union (*TAS* 702). Fomenting such anxiety is a powerful tool for rationalizing the need to impose limits, to implement measures of security, to discriminate among groups, and to bar the "racialized other" from belonging.

The enterprise of nation-building, finally, depends on an act of erasure. Surveying the scene from the Capitol building in Washington, D.C., which he finds "a vast and many-voiced creation," James thinks back to the "'origins' of the whole American spectacle." Initially, the Capitol, the "hugest ... of all the homes of debate," this "labyrinthine pile," exudes for him "an incongruous, a various, … [but] inexhaustible charm": "[t]he ark of the American covenant strike[s him] ... as a compendium of all the national ideals" (*TAS* 649). His impression is that the "national relation" to the seat of government is one

> of a huge flourishing Family to the place of business, ... where, in ... myriad open ledgers ... the account of their colossal revenue is kept. [People] meet there in safe sociability, as all equally initiated and interested—not as in a temple or a citadel, but by the warm domestic hearth of Columbia herself; a motherly, chatty, clear-spectacled Columbia, who reads all the newspapers, knows, to the last man, every one of her sons by name, ... and is fenced off ... by concentric circles of rocking chairs. (*TAS* 651)

On further reflection, however, James wonders if his response to the scene is not just a product "of the *working* of the whole thing."

The "Washington dome is indeed capable, in the Washington air, of admirable, of sublime effects," but it also has an "insidious" aspect (*TAS* 651-52). Behind the Capitol's imposing façade, James detects "immeasurable schemes" for a "great Federal future" in which the state, "consciously remain[ing] the centre, ... rakes the prospect, ... rakes the continent, to a much more sweeping purpose" (*TAS* 652). Looking beyond the "impressiveness of the great terraced Capitol Hill," the "ponderous proud Senate," and the imposing façade of the Supreme Court, James has "glimpses" of authority—"emblazoned, bewigged, bemantled, [and] bemarshalled"—almost in "direct defeat of [their] intention of gravity" (*TAS* 651).[46] In an earlier passage, James had likened the nation's "hospitality" to that of a "cook-

shop ... full of character, of local, of national truth ... for American life" (*TAS* 398). Yet, like Conrad's Assistant Commissioner in *The Secret Agent*, who feels that "fraudulent cookery" in the restaurant he frequents unsuspectingly strips its patrons of all personal identity,[47] James finds it a wonder that, "with American life so personally, so freely affirmed, the superstition of cookery should yet be so little denied" (*TAS* 398). The sweeping national vision which James takes in from the steps of the Capitol is abruptly undercut by another scene which involves an encounter with "a trio of Indian braves" he meets on the hill—"braves dispossessed of forest and prairie [and] as free of the builded labyrinth as they had ever been of these" (*TAS* 652). Dressed in "shoddy suits and light overcoats ... their pockets ... full of photographs and cigarettes," these native Americans, stripped of their racial history, driven from their ancestral lands, and reduced to looking like common tourists, have become "specimens, on show of what the Government can do with people with whom it is supposed to do nothing" (*TAS* 652). While James often voices racist views, this passage suggests he is not without a conscience. In his mind's eye, the displaced indigenous Americans "project as in a flash," an image, "in itself immense, but foreshortened and simplified—reducing to a single smooth stride the bloody footsteps of time.... *There, at its highest polish,"* he concludes*, "was the brazen face of history, and there, all about one, immaculate, the printless pavements of the State*" (*TAS* 653; emphasis mine). In such passages, James paints a powerful picture of how the arts of government contain and control populations in ways that furtively, unobtrusively, yet unfailingly further a nationalist agenda.

The theme of the invisible hand of government managing populations in an intercontinental context is one that drives the plots of both Henry James's *The Ambassadors* and Mina Loy's auto-mythographical poem "Anglo-Mongrels and the Rose"*.* These works are concerned with issues of individual and national identity and they confirm, as well as counter, the governmental production of the "concept" of

the citizen. Approaching these works from the perspective of Foucault's critique of governmentality provides a productive way of analyzing them and their respective authors' aims. The following section considers James's and Loy's texts from both their national and their international frames of reference. Nationalism is a way of justifying the political and economic interests of the state. It is sometimes used to promote isolationist, protectionist policies; sometimes to advance expansionist claims. In both cases the state co-opts the lives of its citizens to serve its own purposes. As James's and Loy's works reveal, the Anglo-European response to managing populations and defining citizenship is vastly different from that of the American. Construction of the terms of national identity, however, proves just as racist, sexist, xenophobic, and class-driven in England and the Continent as it is in the United States.

IV. National Frameworks

In both *The Ambassadors* and "Anglo-Mongrels and the Rose," characters are emblematic of a larger struggle in the world: the struggle that takes place between individuals and the societies that define their being. Both texts act as analogies for the way power operates in its attempt to contain populations, shape national identity, mould people's lives, and maintain civil equilibrium. James's and Loy's works trace the expansion of consciousness experienced by their protagonists as they wrestle with societal pressures to conform to the contours and conventions of nationalist ideology. In each case, the central characters are "outsiders" of sorts, artist figures, who attempt to assert their independence and resist the imposition of social norms and forms of control.

At its most basic level, *The Ambassadors* is the tale of an unassuming but imaginative middle-aged man named Lambert Strether, who is employed by and engaged to the matriarch of a prominent American family from Woollett,

Massachusetts. As a precondition of their nuptial contract, Mrs. Newsome charges Strether with the successful completion of a mission on her behalf. Strether's ambassadorial assignment is to travel to Europe to persuade her prodigal son Chad, heir to the family fortune, to abandon his profligate Parisian lifestyle, return home to an "appropriate" marriage, and assume his rightful place in charge of the family business. The events of the novel are presented almost entirely through the uncertain medium of Lambert Strether's developing consciousness. In the course of executing his task, Strether has a series of encounters that profoundly change his preconceived view of the situation and the people involved. These experiences irrevocably alter his plan of action. As Julie Rivkin suggests, the story is one of "deviation from authority" as Strether begins to question not only the nature of the power behind the task he has been delegated, but also the terms upon which his own identity has been built ("Logic" 820).

Like *The Ambassadors*, Loy's "Anglo-Mongrels" concerns the experiences of life in a nationalist context.[48] The poem follows the birth and early development of Loy's character, Ova, the mongrel offspring of her parents' mixed national and religious backgrounds. As printed in *The Last Lunar Baedeker*, Loy's poem is broken into three numbered, subtitled sections,[49] each of which focuses on one of the major characters. "Exodus" represents Loy's Hungarian-born Jewish father, who in his youth emigrates to England, where he hopes to build a new life for himself. "English Rose" —alternatively referred to as "Ada" or "Alice"— stands for Loy's mother, who, courted by her father, personifies Victorian prudery and British imperialism. Finally there is Loy's own *persona*, "Mongrel Rose" or "Ova," the child of Exodus and English Rose's union of "Israel" and "Albion," Jew and gentile, through whose developing consciousness the naturalization of cultural identity and an understanding of the hybrid self are explored. The work is first and foremost an attack on political nationalisms, but it is also a searing critique of the many social pressures which

combine to forge a certain conception of the citizen as a disciplined and subjugated person, one who has wholly internalized the forces that shape one's life, desires, and sense of self.

From the very outset, James's protagonist, Strether, feels himself vaguely caged and confined, resenting "the compass of that chamber" (*TA* 36). For Loy's character Ova, the process of imprinting cultural values begins at birth: "A breathing baby" involuntarily absorbs "its racial birthrights" and the "isolate consciousness,/ projected from back of time and space" is imprisoned and "pacing its padded cell" (*AM* 131). Like Foucault, Loy's protagonist recognizes there is no essential being; rather, the individual is but a "projection" of his or her heritage, a construct of social and cultural forces. Ultimately though, neither Strether nor Ova are limited by a narrow, strictly national perspective. Both have the advantage—Strether, by virtue of his ambassadorial mission, Ova as a result of her mixed national, religious, and linguistic inheritance—of being able to develop a broader, more cosmopolitan consciousness. It is their growing awareness of other perspectives, of wider international frames of reference, that allows them to grasp the way power imprisons people within their own society's preconceptions and prejudices.

Both James's and Loy's works target so-called "civil" society. For James, "civil society" takes the form of the normalizing, subsuming, progressive nation-building movement that he describes in *The American Scene*; whereas Loy directs her criticism primarily at English nationalism and the calcified attitudes and traditions associated with masculinist, imperialist ambition and British colonial rule. In both *The Ambassadors* and "Anglo-Mongrels," the creation of a "civil society" involves a social consensus which works, within a national framework, to reinforce cultural bonds and to achieve a certain mechanical conformity to constructed identities and established social conventions. This formation of national identity necessarily involves the "definite ... delineation" or the placing of a "formal enclosure" around a territory, its

inhabitants, and the whole of national life (*TAS* 407). James notes how this "immediately refines upon their interest, immediately establishes values":

> The enclosure may be impressive from without, but from within it is sovereign; nothing is more curious than to trace *in the aspects so controlled the effect of their established relation to it*. This resembles, in the human or social order, the improved situation of the foundling who has discovered his family or the actor who has mastered his part. (*TAS* 407; emphasis mine)

Nationalist interests not only create the criteria for national belonging, they tap into the human need for community and exploit it.

Like James, Loy draws attention to borders, but her focus is the arbitrary, artificial, adjustable condition of national boundaries and the disastrous impact they can have on populations. *Anglo-Mongrels* opens with a description of Ova's father "Exodus," then an eighteen year-old runaway sleeping under the stars by the banks of the river, "bordering on Buda Pest." The setting is Austria-Hungary at the end of the nineteenth century. "Budapest" was formed in 1873 by the unification of Buda and Pest, two cities located on opposite sides of the natural dividing line formed by the Danube. The cities had been focal points of the Hungarian Revolution of 1848, which evolved into a war for independence from Austrian rule. Hungary, defeated, was subjected to brutal martial law but a subsequent decline in Austria's strength resulted in the Compromise of 1867, which created the powerful united kingdom of Austria-Hungary. At the time of its unification in 1873, the city of Budapest was made a co-capital of the empire. Loy's reference to "Buda Pest," two words instead of one, is a sly visual way of alluding to this tumultuous political history.[50] An ethno-linguistic map showing the combined territories of Austria-Hungary in 1910 (Fig. 1) affords a glimpse into the complexities involved in determining issues of national and ethnic identity, minority and religious rights. Language—in particular, the language

of education and of government—was one of the most contentious, ongoing disputes in Austro-Hungarian politics, an issue vividly reflected in Loy's poem:

> Imperial Austria taught the child
> the German secret patriotism
> the Magyar tongue the father
> stuffed him with biblical Hebrew. ("AM" 111)

For Loy, the battles over language symbolize the tyranny of cultural indoctrination.

By 1919 the Austro-Hungarian empire was dissolved, defeated by the Allied powers in World War I. In 1920, the Treaty of Trianon partitioned Hungary, leaving it with a mere one-third of its former population and landmass. A key element of the treaty, as part of the League of Nations Treaty Series, was the doctrine of "*self-determination of peoples*." The purported aim of the territorial division was to give ethnic groups, such as the Hungarians and Romanians, their own national states. The process of border realignment, however, cruelly cast aside more than three million ethnic Hungarians and a great number of Jews (who previously represented five percent of the country's eighteen million inhabitants, and almost a quarter of the population of Budapest), abandoning them to live as small minority groups, in hostile regions outside their former homeland. The treaty was dictated as opposed to negotiated by the Allies; the Hungarians were given no option but to accept its terms. Interestingly, the dates of publication of Loy's poem, 1923-1925, place it firmly in the post-war, post-treaty period. Loy's chronology makes a deliberate point. By the time her work was in print, the devastating impact of the decrees and displacements that had been forced on the populations of Europe and the Balkan states in the years both leading up to and immediately following the Great War, would not have been lost upon Loy's readers.

Nationalist concerns drive the plots of both *The Ambassadors* and "Anglo-Mongrels." In *The Ambassadors*, Woollett, Massachusetts epitomizes the values upon

which the American nationalist enterprise depends: "Woollett represents the liberal individualistic ethos of American democracy ... [m]odern democratic liberalism [that] does away with all 'external' cultural bonds and traditions and relies on the principle of competition as the source of social order" (Schloss 7, 9). "'[M]oney's [the] whole basis,'" Strether tells his European guide, Maria Gostrey (*TA* 62). Woollett is all surface: from its American perspective, everything is simple and straightforward. The white people of Woollett have an unwavering sense of social propriety; everything is judged by the "Woollett standard," as Strether calls it. Paris, on the other hand, as James points out in his preface, is a "symbol for more things than had been dreamt of in the philosophy of Woollett" ("Preface" 11). Significantly, James never considers nationality in isolation. Nationalistic cultural conditioning controls perception. Initially, James's protagonist has a blinkered view of the world. Influenced as he is by the American way of seeing things, Strether has great difficulty understanding the Parisian world, which strikes him as impenetrable: like some "huge iridescent object, a jewel brilliant and hard, in which parts were not to be discriminated nor differences comfortably marked. It twinkled and trembled and melted together, and what seemed all surface one moment seemed all depth the next" (*TA* 81). Exposure to "otherness" forces Strether to question his own moral absolutism or what he gradually comes to realize is an overly simplistic and restrictive American outlook. As James himself observes, it is through "international connection" that we are afforded "some vision of how much the bigger complexity we are landed in" (*LHJ* 291). Exposure to difference instigates a gradual expansion of consciousness, a process through which Strether comes to understand how trapped he is within his own national cultural codes and context. James's interest, similar to that of Foucault, is in peeling back the layers of veneer that comprise so-called "civil" society, to expose the intricacy and the brutality of power networks that lie beneath.

In James novel, Strether's American confidante, Maria Gostrey, acts as what James calls "a *ficelle*,[51] or supplementary character, who helps to expose, for Strether, the dubious premises upon which his ambassadorial mission is based. Her line of questioning reveals that in Woollett, white people's status is determined by their relation to the wealthy Newsome family. Jim Pocock has the "great distinction" of "being Sally [Newsome's] husband"—there would be none "greater" unless it were to become "Chad's [future] wife" (*TA* 69). In capitalist America, one's social standing is based upon wealth and race. Like many others, Strether is able to assess his personal and his professional life *only* in relation to the Newsome clan standards. By such criteria, he deems himself a failure, both in terms of his family and his career. Unlike his friend Waymarsh and others in their circle, Strether has never achieved financial success: "the figure of the income he had arrived at had never been high enough to look any one in the face" (*TA* 40). Yet when pressed by Gostrey, Strether divulges the shameful secret surrounding the Newsome family's success: the "source of [their] wealth," he suggests, was not particularly noble" (*TA* 62).[52] Strether, nonetheless, quickly refutes the notion that this disreputable past might be the cause of Chad's reluctance to assume responsibility for his family's "great industry." Whatever questionable practices, illegal or immoral grounds the business might have been founded on, it had "giv[en] the place altogether ... an immense lift" (*TA* 60). A general increase in the nation's economic affluence justifies both the methods employed and any collateral damage caused: "[W]here and when," Strether asks, "is '*the* shame'—where is any shame—to-day? The men I speak of—they did as everyone does; and (besides being ancient history) *it was all a matter of appreciation*" (*TA* 62; emphasis mine). Growth is the critical factor in America; so long as it fuels the national interest, any unsavoury details surrounding its source are simply submerged and suppressed.

While James is critical of the shallowness, moral emptiness, and absence of shame at the core of the American national enterprise, Loy condemns the Jewish and Christian traditions for the *very tactics of shame* they engage and employ in the service of religious, ethnic, and cultural nationalisms. As a child, Exodus is pressured "to vindicate his forefather's ambitions" ("AM" 112). The "arid gravid" teaching and training passed down to him from his Jewish ancestors "lashe[s] the boy to that paralysis of/ the spiritual apparatus/ common to/ the poor" (112).[53] Like the social paralysis that results from the terrible degradation suffered by Irish Catholics at the hands of the English in Joyce's *Ulysses*, the Jews' long history of forced servitude has created a reactionary, intolerant, patriarchal society. "Anglo-Mongrels" depicts Jewish men as "calculating prodigies of Jehovah" who, having been "crushed by the Oxident ox" and made to "scrap[e] the gold gold golden/ muck from off its hoof," use shame as a tool to assert their own authority.

In Loy's poem, "English Rose" is cast in similar, but at the same time, paradoxical terms—the symbol of a nation with its dominant forces both hyper-controlling and yet rigorously controlled in the manner it presents itself to the world:

> Rose of arrested impulses
> self-pruned
> of the primordial attributes
> a tepid heart inhibiting
> with tactful terrorism
> the Blossom Populous. ("AM" 121)

The shame and brutality of England's imperialist history "trimmed with some travestied flesh" is in effect glossed over, feminized, "tinted with bloodless duties," bonded in "mystic incest with its ancestry/ establishing/ by the divine right of self-assertion/ the post-conceptional/ virginity of Nature."[54] The vivid red blood spilled in the expansion of the empire and the oppression of peoples under the nation's control

is transformed, through the elevating symbol of the rose, to the soft pink-cheeked, sweetly perfumed image of a demure maiden:

> A World-Blush
> glowing from
> a never-setting-sun
> Conservative Rose
> storage
> of British Empire-made pot-pourri
> of dry dead men making a sweetened smell
> among a shrivelled collectivity. ("AM" 122)[55]

Loy's poem produces a subtle meditation on the discursive concepts and conventions that shape nationalist ideology. Deftly combining images of dominance and impotence, the foregoing passage illustrates the way in which social discourse invokes both the authority of religion and the prerogative of hereditary power to conceal the nation's bloody history that served only the privileged few. Loy's use of natural imagery (of flowers, pruning, abundance, aroma, and shrivelling) is particularly effective because it suggests the way in which governmental discourse can be made to sound so guileless. The poem makes clear her belief that the citizen is the product of governmental forces, of power that works exclusively in the interests of the nation and the dominant social group.

In a dense, complex, yet compact succession of images, "Anglo-Mongrels" mimics and mocks the many different discourses that constitute citizens and contribute to the construction of national perceptions and beliefs. Loy's poem is the site of confrontation between populations and among different classes of people. It documents how states work, both to insulate themselves against external threat, and to preserve and perpetuate the internal inequalities upon which the nation is built. The Jewish "Patriarch" who "[o]f his riches/ erected a synagogue *for the people*"

disinherits his son, Exodus's father, for marrying "Lea/ *of the people*" ("AM" 111; emphasis mine). Loy underlines the hypocrisy of nations that declare themselves democratic in principle, but are despotic in practice. Class prejudice towards those who are not of one's "own sphere" ("AM" 112) results in Exodus being ostracized, hired out to "[s]inister foster parents," in abusive conditions which eventually force him "to emigrate":

> coveting the alien
>
> asylum of voluntary military
>
> service paradise of the pound-sterling
>
> where the domestic Jew in lieu
>
> of knouts is lashed with tongues. ("AM" 112-13)

The word "asylum" suggests both the protection a nation grants to political refugees and a place of shelter for the mentally ill. England proffers neither. Loy's portrayal of the outsider as a "barred [or striped] bird" conjures a very different image of "asylum" as a place of incarceration, or madhouse, with the immigrant as inmate. In Loy's poem, the foreigner's "body" becomes "the target of ... speculation" ("AM" 119). This Foucauldian image is a vivid reminder of the ways that the then-emerging discourses of psychiatry and psychopathology contributed to the creation of racial stereotypes.[56] As Loy's poem builds, various other strands of public, political, pedagogical, religious, commercial, literary, military, and medical discourse combine to reinforce negative attitudes toward—and police the disruptive energies of—the undesirable alien. Once again, therefore, the citizen is defined in terms of its Other.

"Anglo-Mongrels" presents England as a "closed" society that bars entry, not necessarily by the physical barricading of its borders, but by the deployment of discursive conventions which deny outsiders and other "outcasts" access to its inner sanctums. Loy also suggests that, symbolically, the nation—like religions, "before/ becoming amateur—" enwraps itself "in esoteric/ and exoteric dimensions." Her

statement that religions have become "amateur" suggests the decline in the church's influence, coincident with the rise of the nation-state and the squandering of pastoral authority. Presently, it is the nation that exercises cradle-to-grave power over its citizens, but the disciplinary measures it imposes are class-based and discriminatory:

> the official
> and inofficial
> social morale
> The outer
> classes
> accepting the official
> of the inner
> as a plausible
> gymnastic
> for disciplining the inofficial
> "flesh and devil"
> to the ap parent impecca bility
> of the English. ("AM" 129)[57]

A combination of shame and ethical double standards are employed by those who are supposedly "without sin" to discipline and control the base and unruly desires of those classes of people who are deemed dangerous.

The "Rose" becomes the emblem of England's purported purity: its "impenetrable ... ideological ... pink curtain ... petalling/ the prim gilt/ penetralia/ of a luster-scioned/ core-crown" ("AM" 128, 124, 121). The flower's delicate corolla is encased in "thorn[s]" and "hung/ with tongues"—the word "tongues" being a pointed allusion to the linguistic markers that "under the supervision of the Board of Education" make dialect a powerful determinant of social status ("AM" 123, 129). Loy notes that the populous "may never sing in concert" for "[t]here reigns a

disproportionate dis'armony in the English Hanthem" ("AM" 130). Class hierarchy is supported and sustained by the national school system. Loy's poem also infers that literature is an important instructional tool in the national agenda. In the continental literary tradition the rose is the symbol of chivalrous love and "in those days/ when Exodus courted the rose/ literature was supposed to elevate: Maiden emotions/ breed/ on leaves of novels/ where anatomical man/ has no notion/ of offering other than the bended knee/ to femininity" ("AM" 124). As Sandra Gilbert and Susan Gubar have famously pointed out, the conventions of English romance establish specific gender roles and highly repressive rules for sexual relations. Two distinct classes of woman emerge as a result: the "angel" (whom Loy describes as chaste and innocent in her pretty "pink print/ sunbonnet/ ... [a] pearl beyond price ... drooping her lid/ and pouting her breast") and the "whore" (the "wilder" flower of womanhood whom the "high-striped soldiers of the swagger-stick" tempt "to lick-be-quick ice cream/ outside the barracks.") ("AM" 123, 126, 123, 116).[58]

Virginity in "Anglo-Mongrels" becomes a metaphor for the imperviousness of English society. Exodus, "Oriental," is confronted by "thick hedgerows," his "Judaic eyes peering/ through narrow-slim entrance-arches" where maiden "bosoms and blossoms" are shaded by "terrestrial trees" ("AM" 126, 124). This "jovian Hebrew 'all dressed up/ and nowhere to go'/ stands like a larch/ upon the corners of incarcerate streets" ("AM" 116). The outsider, "mad to melt/ with something softer than himself" has his hopes deflated, his "passionate-anticipation" of "warming ... his rose ... in his arms," dashed. The "grating upon civilization/ of his sensitive organ" leaves him "splinters upon an adamsite/ opposition/ of nerves like stalactites" ("AM" 127).[59] Enmeshed in a web of strict social and cultural mores, entrenched customs and conventions, and a slew of racist and religious prejudices and exclusions, Exodus finds himself emasculated and rebuffed.

In England, as in America, economic considerations are paramount. "'[B]usiness English'" and "the conundrums of finance" are the only language to which "foreigners" are "instantly initiate" ("AM" 115). To the outsider, the country represents financial opportunity, while to the English citizens, aliens are seen either as "parasite[s]" or merely as "unlettered immigrants" and "rude ratepayers" to be exploited for national gain ("AM" 119, 115-16). Money is the only means by which one can gain a foothold in English society: "Exodus has nothing but his pockets/ to impress/ his rabid rose of the hedges/ while for her redress/ she can flaunt the whole of England in his foreign face" ("AM" 145). As several critics note,[60] Loy's depiction of Exodus as the "wandering Jew" illustrates the way in which Jewish people were racialized in various discourses (which co-opted the scientism of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries). Exodus embodies all the racial stereotypes that were prevalent at the time, the "arid gravid intellect," the pecuniary instincts (the ability to do "lightening calculations"), and the propensity for wandering that psychiatrists referred to as the travelling neurosis ("AM" 112, 118). As Potter notes, "the spectacle" of "large numbers Jews wandering across Europe" in search of "refuge and economic prosperity" in the decades following the Russian pogroms of 1881, "fed into the cultural imagination in significant ways," stirring a "tide of anti-Semitic propaganda" ("Obscene" 56). Loy's poem portrays the ways in which negative characteristics become attached to certain groups but it also examines the process by which people internalize oppressive social values.

In "Anglo-Mongrels," Loy also connects nationalism with patriarchal pomp and pretentiousness, which leads, she suggests to militarism and war.[61] The "august dust" of generations of men who held power in England,

> stirred by
> the trouser-striped prongs of statesmanship
> (whenever politic)

rises on the puff of press alarum
and whirling itself
deliriously around the unseen
Bolshevik subsides
in ashy circularity
'a wreath' upon the unknown
soldier's grave. ("AM" 122)

In this passage, Loy astutely suggests how national mechanisms of security function. International diplomacy, backed by military might, legitimized and defended in civic discourse, whips up public opinion, warning of external threat even though that danger is "unseen" and likely non-existent. The verse paragraph's concluding image of ashes encircling and settling on the tomb of the unknown soldier is a melancholy reminder of the ultimate cost of such "statesmanlike" posturing.[62]

V. Constructed Identities and the "Crisis of Consciousness"[63]

If the concept of the nation is shaped in discourse, James's and Loy's works show that personal identity is merely "a microcosmic/ replica/ of [such] institutions." As Loy puts it, "personality" is the construct of "formulate education/ coming naturally to the units of a national instigation" (AM 153). In this context, Loy's use of the word "naturally" suggests a process so normalized by society that it appears "natural":

New Life
when it inserts itself into continuity
is *disciplined*
by the family
reflection
of national construction

to a proportionate posture

in the *civilized* scheme. ("AM"152; emphases mine)

Throughout *The Ambassadors*, James, too, reinforces the idea that identity is socially and culturally fashioned and defined. Any sense of self-worth Strether possesses rests solely on the role he performs as editor of a small literary review that "Mrs. Newsome ... magnificently pays for" (*TA* 63). His name on the cover is his "one presentable little scrap of an identity": this alone "seems to rescue a little ... from the wreck of hopes and ambitions, the refuse-heap of disappointments and failures.... He was Lambert Strether because he was on the cover, whereas it should have been, for anything like glory that he was on the cover because he was Lambert Strether" (*TA* 64, 77-8). Strether's life is limited to his publicly created identity. Tellingly, thinking back, Strether describes his situation—specifically, his relation to Mrs. Newsome, who provides "all the money"—as a "prison-house" (*TA* 65).

For Strether, Europe seems to represent freedom, as well as opportunity missed. It reminds him of "promises to himself ... never kept" when, "newly married" and "helplessly young" in spite of "the War just over," he and his bride rather recklessly made a "dash" for Paris, "taking money set aside for necessities." There, on an impulse, Strether had purchased a set of "lemon-coloured volumes"[64] which were, for him, an "invocation of the finer taste," the hallmark of a "higher culture." Years later, however, the neglected volumes are merely sad reminders of the more cultured, imaginative life he had dreamed of living. They have become a symbol of "lapse," of the road not taken, of "his long grind ... his want of odd moments, his want moreover of money, of opportunity, of positive dignity" (*TA* 78-79).[65] Returning to the City of Light as a middle-aged man, tasked with the responsibility of representing Mrs. Newsome's interests, Strether is suddenly, poignantly reminded of everything Paris once represented for him. Inexplicably, he experiences a "consciousness of personal freedom ... he hadn't known for years" (*TA* 23). In a

private spot in the Luxembourg Gardens where he pauses to read the letters of instruction Mrs. Newsome has sent him, Strether feels "an extraordinary sense of escape" (*TA* 75). He detects the re-awakening of old desires; everything in Europe seems "charming to his long-sealed eyes." At "that moment," he feels "launched in something ... quite disconnected from the sense of his past": something "literally beginning there and then"; something he perceives to be "more thoroughly civilized" (*TA* 27).

Longing to reclaim his own lost youth and experience a more elevated form of existence, Strether begins to live vicariously through the cultured, confident, charismatic young Chad and his coterie of sophisticated friends. Madame de Vionnet, with whom Chad has what is reported by their friends to be a "virtuous attachment" (*TA* 152), fulfills Strether's romantic-historic conception of "some fine, firm concentrated heroine of an old story." She exhibits a "discernible faith in herself, a kind of implied conviction of consistency, security, impunity" (*TA* 215), that Strether so admires. For Strether, Madame de Vionnet represents the aesthetic life, the graciousness and beauty associated with tradition and the "high style" of "an elder day." Her home is in an old house in the Rue de Bellechase; its entryway is via a lovely courtyard: "large, open, full of revelations of the habit of privacy, the peace of intervals, and the dignity of distances and approaches" (*TA* 179). Her possessions, he judges, "are not vulgarly numerous but hereditary, cherished." In the "immemorial polish of the wide waxed staircase and in the fine *boiseries*, the medallions, mouldings, mirrors, [and] the great clear spaces of the greyish, white salon," Strether finds "the ancient Paris" he was looking for" (*TA* 179). He makes out "as the background of the occupant," moreover,

> some glory, some prosperity of the First Empire, some Napoleonic glamour, some dim lustre of the great *legend*; elements clinging still to all the consular

> chairs and *mythological* brasses and sphinxes heads and faded surfaces of satin striped with alternate silk. (*TA* 180; emphasis mine)

Unlike Mrs. Newsome, who positions herself as the ultimate authority, Madame de Vionnet, is "brilliant ... various. She's fifty women." She is "a femme du monde ... like Cleopatra in the play, various and multifold" (*TA* 194, 198). To Strether, she begins to suggest there may be multiple truths and that history might be myth.

Subsequently Strether learns many things about truth, knowledge, and the nature of identity. While Mrs. Newsome is adamant that her son is having an illicit affair with a disreputable married woman, her ambassador is charmed and taken in by Chad. Not until Strether discovers the attachment is adulterous does it dawn on him that Chad is merely a product of representation, the "consummate calculation of effect" (*TA* 164). In fleeting impressions, Strether begins to glean Chad's "game, his plan, his deep diplomacy, [his way] ... of profusely dispensing, as [Strether] mentally phrase[s] it, *panem et circenses*" (*TA* 146).[66] Dorothy Krook observes that Chad has become "a man of the world," a man "'marked out by women'"—in other words, a man with "sexual power" (*James* 35). Madame de Vionnet, on the other hand, is described as being "beautifully passive": "[u]nder the spell of transmission from her father's line ... [she] had only received, accepted and been quiet" (*TA* 180). Krook goes on to note that, for men like Chad, "knowing how to live" means "knowing how to enjoy life to capacity, missing no opportunity for pleasure." Chad exhibits a complete "absence of doubts, scruples, misgivings and 'conscience.'" He is "all surface" and "acquired high polish," with a "practice of arranging" things for Strether's consumption." (*James* 40). In this instant, Strether realizes that Chad—who in the end will forsake his lover to pursue the unlimited prospect of affluence and prestige in America—is a selfish "brute ... guilty of the last infamy," motivated purely by money and power (*TA* 417).

Chad and Madame de Vionnet's story is one of power relations. James purposefully links their tale to the history of European aristocracy, colonial rule, and revolutions that sparked the birth of nationalism. In a series of "odd starts" and "sudden gusts of fancy," Strether senses something "covertly tigerish ... a waft from the jungle" (*TA* 164) that rises from beneath the surface of this glittering world. He has the vague notion that, all along, "Paris" has been "arranging, pretexting":

> something in the air of [its] establishments; the vibration of the vast strange life of the town, the influence of the types, the performers concocting their messages; the little prompt Parisian women ... driving the dreadful needle-pointed public pen at the dreadful sand-strewn public table ... symbolized for Strether's too interpretative innocence *something more acute in manner, more sinister in morals, more fierce in the national life*. (*TA* 391; emphasis mine)

At the centre of James's novel is the scene that takes place in the Italian sculptor Gloriani's exquisite Parisian garden. There, where the elite of the *beau monde* congregate, in "an hour of unprecedented ease," Strether experiences a "crisis" ("Preface" 3). His impressions of European civility have had their "abundant message," making him feel his own life has been a waste. "The affair of life," he declares, "couldn't, no doubt, have been different for me",

> for it's at die best [sic] a tin mould, either fluted and embossed, with ornamental excrescences, or else smooth and dreadfully plain, into which, a helpless jelly, one's consciousness is poured—so that one "takes" the form, as the great cook says, and is more or less compactly held by it. (*TA* 163)

Strether's realization that his whole life has been socially determined occasions his urgent appeal to Chad's young friend, Little Bilham, whom he exhorts to "Live!":

> "Live all you can; it's a mistake not to. It doesn't so much matter what you do in particular, so long as you have your life. If you haven't had that what *have*

> you had? ... I'm too old. ...What one loses one loses; make no mistake about that. ... *Still, one has the illusion of freedom; therefore don't, like me today, be without the memory of that illusion."* (*TA* 163; emphasis mine)

In his "Preface" to the novel, James states that Strether's remarks to Little Bilham "contain the essence of the *The Ambassadors*." The significance of Strether's "irrepressible outbreak" is that he now "wakes up" and "*sees*" (*TA* 4). Strether grasps that in a culturally determined world, freedom is a fallacy. At best, one enjoys merely the "illusion of freedom." Strether's reference to his loss of the illusion might point to his former ignorance of his own entrapment in the "Woollett mould." More likely though, it alludes to his deeply harboured dream of a decidedly more independent, more civilized life. Strether's "crisis" is his realization that Europe is no different from America where money and, most importantly, appearances, are primary instruments of power.

In "Anglo-Mongrels," Ova undergoes a similar crisis of consciousness. Like Strether in *The Ambassadors*, Loy's protagonist is a product of social forces. At birth, Ova is described as being nothing more than "[a] clotty bulk of bifurcate fat," a mere "mystero-chemico" combination of two sets of DNA, a "faggot of instincts" ("AM" 135). Like Strether, Ova is instinctively drawn to the aesthetic: to the movement of light and hue, to the vibrations and variations of sounds: "[h]er entity/ she projects/ into these ... / for self-identification" ("AM" 137). Yet, repeatedly her nascent attempts to define herself are quashed. "Her consciousness ... quickens/ to colour-thrusts/ of the quintessent [sic] light: until a woman's/ ineludable claws of dominion" seize and carry her away "in a receding/ prison/ of muscular authority" ("AM" 136). This description evokes an aggressive motif which Loy encodes as masculine. From the confines of her cradle, behind the "unravelable wire" of its netting, the baby is confronted with the "caryatid"[67] (or what she senses to be a stone carving of a draped figure), "an agency/ for displacing/ the finer aspects of the

objective/ in her sight" ("AM" 136).[68] The "prismatic sun show of father's physic bottles ... is extinguishe[d]" as "armored towers" bend in "iron busks/ of curved corsets" over "the new-born/ in the bassinet" ("AM" 137, 140). Any sense of personal identity to which Ova spontaneously stirs is "lost in recurrent annihilation" (*AM* 138).

The child "whose wordless/ thoughts/ grow like visionary plants" soon discovers that language is anchored in materiality, freighted and weighted down with determinant meaning. "Importances become *defined*" ("AM" 138; emphasis mine). Hearing the women hovering over her, whisper the word "iarrhea," Ova begins to apprehend the influence that systems of signification have on the way the world is perceived. As Elizabeth Frost observes, diarrhea is a symbol of "waste, the physical run amok, illness, [and] the abject." Ova's brain "is not unlike the substance described, a 'cerebral/ mush convolving in her skull'" (*Feminist* 55). "Mush" suggests something without form, a wet clay or pasty substance that can be moulded. This section of the Loy's poem, entitled "Ova Begins to Take Notice," stages the struggle to resist the social forces attempting to shape the mind and the consciousness seeking its own separate identity. For Ova, the sound of the word "I"-arrhea, combined with the sight of a mesmerizing, verdigris "cat's eye" orb pinned to her nurse's "bended bust," sparks an instant, "fragmentary/ simultaneity of ideas":

A lucent
iris
shifts
its
irradiate
interstice

as the brilliant reflection of an "unreal globe terrestial ... dilates," but then bounces away, "vanish[ing] into "shadowiness" ("AM" 141-42). Noting the way the words

tumble in rapid sequence down the page mimicking the escaping gleam of light towards which the baby so eagerly scrambles, Rachel Potter proposes that this is the moment Ova begins to understand "the boundaries of the ... world" and starts to seek "to see beyond them" (*Exiles* 77). The verse paragraph, however, once again ends in abrupt arrest, with the crawling child being pulled out from under the furniture "by her leg" ("AM" 142). As Potter argues, "Loy's poem is acutely sensitive to the question of how self is formed through a complex identification with and dissociation from existing discursive structures and limits" (*Obscene* 51).

Growing up, Ova learns that truth is a flexible concept. Her "Surprise" is that "the things the armored towers/ tell/ are not quite real" ("AM" 160). Indeed, her own father, whom she yearns most to trust, is the figure whom she learns most thoroughly to distrust. Asking him "for a sovereign/ to buy a circus universe, [he] [laughing/ ... gives her a shining coin" which Ova, "little fool," later finds is merely a farthing ("AM" 166). As Frost suggests, Ova "discovers his trick only when she uses the coin as though its power were hers: ... Centering on puns on the word 'sovereign' (king, father, autonomous agent, unit of money),[69] [Loy's poem] emphasizes 'the pockets of the Father—his financial and social power—and the humiliation of [his] daughter in a 'sullen/ economic war.' She is enjoined to 'obey him' so that, according to his discretion, 'he can bestow/ upon her whatever she pray him'" (*Feminist* 59). Ova thus comes to understand "the complicity of the father, money, social exchange—the tyranny of the social contract." She discovers that so-called truth can be "the instrument of lies" and she begins "to connect cultural determinacy to the workings of a male-dominated language" (Frost, *Feminist* 59, 58).

Ova's "crisis" is the realization that "human consciousness" is an "accidence of circumstance," a "drama ... played to [an] inattentive audience," in which the "ego-axis/ intoxicates/ with the cosmic/ proposition of being IT":

Till the inconsiderate
competitional brunt
of its similars
informs it
of several millions
"pulling the same stunt"[.] ("AM" 170, 152)

This conclusion is very similar to the one James arrives at in *The American Scene*. Submission to social norms and expectations, to *the bonds of citizenship*, necessarily entails the forfeiture of personal independence, for, as Loy puts it, it is "the breeders' determination/ not to return 'entities sent on consignment'/ except in a condition of moral effacement" (*AM* 171). Shattered illusions of personal freedom and identity are at the heart of both Strether and Ova's experiences of the ways in which power operates.

VI. Machinations of Power

Governmental power is traditionally male, institutional, backed by legal codes and armed force (the police and the military). Intriguingly though, female figures assume dominant roles in *The Ambassadors* and "Anglo-Mongrels. Mrs. Newsome is a symbol of the new forms of economic power that accompanied the spread of capitalism. English "Rose" represents matriarchal power, iron-willed in the domestic sphere; her image is politically softened, as previously discussed, for ease of consumption in the contexts of national and imperial rule. Significantly, both women are male-identified. Both are prepared, in their respective domains of power, to use rigid disciplinary means, even force, to bend others to their will. Yet, as women, they also wield power in more typically feminine, maternal ways, bringing various moral, religious, and sexual discourses to bear in the course of educating and directing their offspring/subjects. These women exert force in the world in ways that are different

from standard patriarchal methods of control. As the following discussion reveals, James's and Loy's deliberate choices to give prominence to matriarchal power, serve to illustrate how governmental power works: either to adapt to changing factors and circumstances or to co-opt support from alternative channels of authority. At the same time, by placing women in influential positions of control, James and Loy subtly undermine conventional masculinity and expose how the nation/state works (in Foucauldian-like ways) to further its own agenda.

Mrs. Newsome is a figure of absent authority, frequently referred to by other characters, but who never personally makes an appearance in James's text. As Krook points out, "power is never mentioned by name in *The Ambassadors* ... but its effects ... are exhibited with devastating force" (*James* 35). James underscores this point in his "Preface" with his injunction to the reader that, "away off with her finger on the pulse of Massachusetts, [Mrs. Newsome] yet should be no less intensely than circuitously present through the whole thing, should be no less felt as to be reckoned with than the most direction exhibition" (*TA* 13). Understood in Foucauldian terms, Mrs. Newsome's is a power that works through multiple means and channels of control. Initially, this power is disciplinary in nature, taking the form of directives and negative incentives, "framed by a series of supervisions, checks, and inspections" (Foucault *STP* 4). Eventually, Strether criticizes Mrs. Newsome, the woman who keeps him constantly "provided for," as being "all ... fine, cold thought." As he perceives it:

> That's just her difficulty ... she doesn't admit surprises.... She had to her own mind worked the whole thing out in advance ...worked it out for me as well as herself. Whenever she has done that, you see, there's no room left: no margin, as it were, for any alteration. (*TA* 370)

This, however, is where Strether is wrong: he underestimates power's ability to adapt. As Rivkin suggests, "Mrs. Newsome represents the problem power encounters

as it no longer has direct sovereign control" ("Logic" 824). Mrs. Newsome's challenge is precisely that of the art of government. *The Ambassadors* is ultimately the story of external threat overcome, of national interests protected, of civil equilibrium restored. In a mobile, cosmopolitan world, distance and the need for the devolution and distribution of authority are the issues with which power must contend. Mrs. Newsome's objectives are crystal clear: first, to dissuade her errant son from pursuing what she deems to be an inappropriate relationship with a married woman in Paris. This involves what Foucault would call the enforcement of "discipline." Secondly, Mrs. Newsome must convince Chad to return home to fulfill his family obligations. In this endeavour, she moves into the world of "governmentality." She wants her son to be a stolid American, not a citizen of the world, yet she cannot achieve her aims by direct means. Mrs. Newsome must work through delegates and other myriad networks of influence. The mediated nature of her authority is symbolized by the series of letters that are exchanged between her and her ambassador, correspondence that must "reckon with the Atlantic Ocean, the General Post-Office and the extravagant curve of the globe" (*TA* 135). Despite these complications, by the end of the novel, Mrs. Newsome has achieved her goal. She has invoked what in Foucault's terminology would be described as "mechanisms of security" to defend against Strether's deviation from his prescribed mission. She deploys envoys to police the developing situation and safeguard her family's interests. At the same time, she relies on her own knowledge of her son, trusting he will be drawn in to her plan by what motivates him most: his desire for wealth. Her methods of operation evolve as they must. In the end, she achieves her goal and Lambert Strether is expendable.

In "Anglo-Mongrels," Ova's mother is the dominant figure of authority. It is she who, in the home, with the help of nurse/governesses, dictates her daughter's designated place in the gendered order of English society. As a girl, Ova is "propped

upon a chair" and "told to hush" ("AM" 135). Raised in a religious household, she feels "caught in a novel hell/ of immovable metal." Under her mother's strict, conservative rules, the prime commandment she learns is: "Thou shalt not live by dreams alone/ but by every discomfort/ that proceedeth out of/ legislation" ("AM" 160, 172). Female sexuality (as Mrs. Newsome in *The Ambassadors* would have her son and everyone believe) is a shameful subject never to be spoken of aloud. The "heavy upholstered/ stuffing/ of ... women's netherbodies" conveys the strong message that sex is considered something obscene. English-Rose resents her child as a "vile" reminder of the carnal "sin" involved in conception: "To the mother/ the blood-relationship/ is a terrific indictment of the flesh." For Ova, "[t]here is no liberation/ from this inversion/ of instinct/ making subliminal depredations on [her] brain: ("AM" 147):

> Lacking dictionaries
> of inner consciousness
> unmentionable stigmata
> is stamped
> by the parent's solar-plexus
> in *disequilibrium*
> on the offspring's
> intuition[.] ("AM" 147- 48; emphasis mine)

Social equilibrium in the broader sense is dependent upon maintaining a decided degree of disciplinary "*disequilibrium*," not only between parent and child, but also between the *sexes*, as well as among the *classes* of people that constitute the nation. Loy shows how, in the earliest stages of identity development, matriarchal authority in the home is coopted in support of the dominant patriarchal power that controls the domestic purse-strings while simultaneously operating on broader, more influential national and international scales.

As Rachel Potter notes, Ova ends up "passionately at odds with [her mother's] hypocritical prejudices and ... [particular] brand of Christianity." Ova's upbringing is markedly different from that of her male counterparts who, like Esau Penfold and Colossus, "seem to have an uncomplicated connection 'to the navel chord of Motherland'" ("Obscene" 64). Potter further links the poem's idea of the obscene female body to the English concept of empire which, in racial terms, must rigourously be administered and constantly policed. Loy's poem vividly illustrates the way in which the discourses of the law, religion and sexuality relegate women to second-class citizenship.

VII. "Opposed Aesthetics"[70]

In the closing scene of *The Ambassadors*, speaking of Mrs. Newsome, Strether admits he now "'see[s] ... what [he] didn't before'" (*TA* 428). As her ambassador, his role throughout has been the faithful representation of Mrs. Newsome's interests and the restoration of "equilibrium" on her behalf. Increasingly unable to reconcile this mission with his own sense of human dignity, freedom, and ethics, Strether recognizes, "[i]t's over. Over for both of us" (*TA* 428). His decision is to return home, to America, to "what" exactly, he does not know: "'A great difference—no doubt. Yet," he avers, "I shall see what I can make of it.'" His resolution means relinquishing the last of his fleeting visions of what life in Europe might have been. In the final analysis, however, his "only logic" is "[n]ot out of the whole affair, to have got[ten] anything for [him]self" (*TA* 429, 430). Personal gain would taint his motives for abandoning his mission: "[w]hatever freedom James accords his protagonists comes with profound loneliness" (Goodman, "James" web, np).

At the end of "Anglo-Mongrels," stripped of her illusions like Strether, Ova, "child of Exodus/ with her heritage of emigration/ ... chooses 'to run away.'" Self-

exiled, this budding artist, and "mongrel-girl ... 'sets out to seek her fortune'/ in her turn/ trusting to terms of literature" ("AM" 170-71, 143, 171). Both Strether and Ova decide to abandon the social milieu to which they belong, strike out on their own and make "for the/ magnetic horizon of liberty" ("AM" 170). Like James, Loy does not elaborate on the consequences of her protagonist's decision. The final section of her poem, however, provides a clue. Entitled "The Social Status of Exodus," this passage suggests that civilizations either cast off or crucify those who "def[y]/ the protoform." Exodus, the tailor, "weaver of fig-leaves," the "prestidigitator cutter" who "achieves/ the unachievable" marrying his English Rose and becoming financially successful, is still "despised" and "ostracized": "The gently born/ they turn away" ("AM" 175).

Foucault's lectures in *Security, Territory, Population* focus on the central issue confronting governments as populations grow and become increasingly more mobile: the problem of containment and control. Foucault posits that the modern "art of governmentality" evolves directly in response to this dilemma. In James's novel, Chad Newsome is the embodiment of the kind of liberal democratic, capitalist system of government to which Foucault refers. In the closing scenes of *The Ambassadors*, Chad affirms his faith in the power of advertising: "'[i]t's an art like another, and infinite like all the arts.'" If one knows "'the right way to work it,'" he pronounces, "'*c'est un monde*'" (423). With this revelation, Chad puts his finger on one of the great gambits of the state. Advertising, as Sarah Wilson explains, involves "the building of pat narratives through which to circulate more mass-produced objects and the orthodoxies they support." Chad's vision, she goes on to suggest, "proposes a series subordinated to one narrative, uniform throughout, without complex and uncontrollable relations always emerging and changing the face of narrative relations" ("Americanness" 526). Chad's reference to advertising's boundless reach

touches on the ability of the art of government continually to evolve by constantly co-opting and subsuming all other forms of discourse.

Both James and Loy celebrate the aesthetic as a vehicle for opposing the normalizing, reductive, soul-crushing state and social pressures that set the criteria for citizenship and belonging. Their protagonists Lambert Strether and Mongrel-Rose are artist figures who resist national conformity and convention, or what James refers to as "the herded and driven state" that, sadly, is the "liability of our nature":

> Anything that ... relieves one of one's share ... of the abject collective consciousness ... [which is as] ruthless... as the guillotine—anything that performs this office puts a price on the lonely sweetness of a step or two taken by one's self, of deviating into some sense of independent motive power. (*TAS* 509, 510)

Although James and Loy have very different reasons for their distrust of the state, both their texts advance the notion that despite the personal cost, there are those in society who are willing to challenge authority, those who decline to be coerced. This raises the problem of that segment of people "who resist the regulation of the population, ... who try to elude the apparatus by which the population exists, ... put themselves outside of it," those who, "refusing to be the population, disrupt the system" (Foucault *STP* 44).

In his final lecture for the course, delivered on 5 April 1978, Foucault pauses to consider various forms of counter-conduct whose "essential objective," he states, "is precisely the rejection of *raison d'Etat* and its fundamental requirements." What his lectures have attempted to show, he explains, is that "the art, project, and institutions for conducting" people, and the forces opposed to them, have developed in direct "correlation with each other" (*STP* 355). Foucault notes that the idea of "freedom" is built into the very concept of governmentality.[71] Managing risk, uncertainty, and natural processes is the crucial test of the modern art of

government, the rationality of which is no longer applied to "a set of subjects indefinitely subject to a sovereign will and submissive to its requirements." Now, "population has its own laws of transmission and movement, ... [is] subject to own natural processes" (*STP* 352). For Foucault, the basic principle of governmentality is to recognize and ensure the security of economic "processes intrinsic to population ... to arouse, to facilitate, and to *laisser faire*, in other words to manage and no longer to control through rules and regulations.... A condition of governing well is that freedom, or certain forms of freedom, are really respected" (*STP* 353).

Just as Mrs. Newsome in James's novel must leave her plan's execution to the improvisations of her ambassadors, states must similarly delegate authority, exercising it, not directly, but diplomatically, through representatives, institutions, and multiple forms of social discourse. Thus, as Rivkin points out: "the terms of the Ambassador's engagement with Mrs. Newsome become the terms under which that engagement is betrayed" ("Logic" 823). Acts of generating and harnessing human desires simultaneously give reign to those desires, furnishing opportunities for a degree of freedom and opening the possibility for counter-conducts capable of breaking the bonds of obedience to the state. The theme of breeching boundaries runs through both James's and Loy's work. The conviction that contemporary, often stultifying, standards of decorum for art and literature must be challenged, is something these authors have in common.[72] The style and structure of James's narrative in *The Ambassadors*, and the unconventional form and content of Loy's long poem, mirror their authors' commitments to their respective literary and political objectives. Both writers foreground the aesthetic, not only as a different way of seeing things, but also as field of representation upon which the discursive conventions of the state can be contested.

In *The Order of Things*, Foucault recalls the process by which literature "became progressively more differentiated" from rival discourses (*OT* 300). By this

route, Seltzer suggests, "the literary comes to represent the 'outside' of power. ... [I]n principle [it] stands apart from and subverts structures of power" (*Art* 132). Both James and Loy utilize the aesthetic as a subversive strategy and a fresh way of interrogating or presenting the world. Their respective investments in the power of art, however, take very different forms. For James, the aesthetic is the symbol of what John Landau describes as "the precious achievement of a stabilizing social tradition" (*Divided* 17), whereas for Loy, it is a vehicle with which to shatter forms of traditional ideological and representational limits.

Krook describes *The Ambassadors* as "as story of failure redeemed by the process of vision, the re-animating, restorative power of an expanded consciousness" (*James* 14). James's impressionistic mode and his calculated methods of continually deferring meaning combine to unsettle completely any certainty of perception. Sara Blair remarks that,

> [e]verywhere in James's texts forms of suspense govern, linger, seduce; ... informants hang fire; *ficelles* ... await the effects of their conversational strategems; experience becomes a spiderweb suspended ever so lightly from the corners of inhabited rooms; sentences themselves echo the shape of bewilderment. ("Documenting" 213)

James's art is one of digression. The peripatetic form of his musings and the transitive, metonymic nature of his "trains of association" celebrate the creative imagination but they also form, in his fiction, an integral part of James's contestatory stance.

In his "Preface" to *The Ambassadors*, James addresses the issue of authorial control. At pains to explain the origin of his tale, he states, "[n]ever can a [novel] of this sort have sprung straighter from a dropped grain of suggestion." Yet, he goes on to call that grain a "germ," which carries the connotation of infection and uncontrollability. Like America's "too-defiant growth ... [and] too-defiant scale of

numerosity" (*TAS* 456), the creative process seemingly resists the imposition of form which would impart to the novel—or the nation—a necessary sense of internal coherence. Given the "recurrent breaks and resumptions" inherent in the serial nature of his book's publication, as well as the "terrible fluidity of self-revelation" involved in presenting the entire plot from the single, uncertain perspective of his protagonist's developing consciousness, James's challenge becomes one of containment. His art must accommodate alterations incurred in the act of execution. In the end, James can only regret the "cherished intentions" he so "fondly dreamt" ("Preface" 15, 13). For the self-described "teller of tales" and "handler of puppets," success is dependent upon the way the material is framed, what is included and, more importantly, what the writer decides to exclude. "The *equilibrium* ... *of the artist's state*, James observes, "dwells less, surely, in the ... delightful complications he can smuggle in than in those he succeeds in keeping out" ("Preface" 6, 7). James places his faith in aesthetic form: "one's work should have composition, because composition alone is positive beauty" ("Preface" 14).

A number of commentators connect James's need for authorial control to "the larger social regimes of mastery and control" that he explores in his works.[73] As Seltzer argues, "Art and power are radically entangled in the Jamesian text" (*Art* 10):

> James's fiction ... secures and extends the very movements of power it ostensibly abjures, and the double discourse by which power is at once exercised and screened, registers the discretion achieved by modern technologies of social control—a discretion that allows for the dissemination of power throughout the most everyday social practices and institutions, including the institution of the novel itself. (*Art* 18)

Landau agrees: "[t]he intricate elaboration of *artistic* form in James's novels would seem to reflect, resonate with, and rehearse the attempt to create *social* forms" (*Divided* 17). Other critics, like Rivkin, point out that James's preface—written some

six years after the novel's initial publication—constitutes an attempt to "fabricate" and "fix origins" ("Logic" 821), which in Loy's terms, make the endeavour highly suspect. Seltzer adds that "[i]n the prefaces to *The New York Edition*, James has comprehensively set the terms for his own evaluation" (*Art* 11). All this raises profound questions about the role literature assumes as a discourse of power and a vehicle for the national agenda.

While it is valid to argue that literature is just another discourse of power, and to maintain, as Seltzer does, that the "novel as a form and ... institution reinscribes and supplements social mechanisms of policing and regulation" (*Art* 19), literature—or art in general—also has a certain ability to question and challenge society's conventions. James defends the aesthetic for its capacity to explore all aspects of life, whether these features be attractive or repulsive in nature. James's texts "hold out for ratifying the difference between the aesthetic view and the rival views that jeopardize it" (*Art* 100). As James states at the conclusion of his "Preface" to *The Ambassadors*, as a cultural vehicle, "the Novel remains still, under the right persuasion, the most independent, most elastic, most prodigious of literary forms" (19).

Debates over the role of the aesthetic in relation to the national agenda are revealing. The critic struggles with two sides of James. In *The Ambassadors*, James articulates an argument for the autonomy of art and its ability (at least to a certain degree) to oppose power. The counter-argument is that James's work, in fact, "invokes and underwrites social networks of power" (Seltzer *Art* 18). The tension between these differing views has been a subject of disagreement among Jamesian scholars.[74] Ross Posnock has argued, cogently and influentially, that for the sake of his art, James adopts "a willed vulnerability to contingency." In *The American Scene*, James "delves into subjects and places most of the gentry class viewed with repugnance." He immerses himself in the "'irreducible multiplicity' of urban life,

where meaning resides in the peripheral and the aleatory" (*Trial* 141, 158, 151). While it is true that James may be willing to step outside of his comfort zone in the pursuit of "his attempted [aesthetic] appreciation of life" (*TAS* "Preface" 354), Posnock's argument glosses over James's controlling impulses and unabashed racism. It is difficult to defend the abhorrence James expresses when contact with "others" is involved, and impossible to separate the "traditional" values he endorses from the misogyny, racism, and class discrepancies that sustain them. As a politically engaged artist, James employs the inventiveness of the literary to advocate for the cultivation of a more refined sensibility, *and* to rally for a return to the kind of "civilized" life he so reveres. Yet, the cosmopolitan European sensibility that James champions is neither plural nor liberal, but rather, ethnically homogeneous and culturally conservative. James is a staunch defender of conventional white, male, upper-class values—values that seem to him to be under bitter assault, both in Europe where traditional imperial institutions and hereditary regimes have begun to fall, and in America, where so-called "universal" democracy is too freely encouraged in a common and classless society. By James's own admission, however, the idea of a "return" to a better, more certain, more cohesive time is, itself, a reactionary myth. On the one hand, James detests the "normalizing" activities of the state, while on the other, he craves order, sameness, racial purity, and homeostasis. Although he promotes the idea of a cosmopolitan citizenship, he endorses a highly racist, class-based set of criteria for who should possess the right to citizenship's privileges and prerogatives.

Loy also uses the aesthetic to challenge authority but her work brazenly and aggressively refuses all forms of ideology or fixed identity. To her, borders or boundaries of any sort are meant to be violated, whether they are national, legal, religious, sexual, psychological, discursive, or artistic. Single labels are also, always, something to be evaded. Mongrel by birth, Loy is neither Jewish nor Christian, British

nor American, and her poetic attacks on James's brand of cultural tradition, social convention, religious and ideological belief leave no system, and no-one, unscathed. Loy satirizes all creeds. Ova's mother uses Christianity as "a spiritual bludgeon" to inflict "Him/ upon her." Humankind is "credulous" and willing to "swallow" the church's "parsimonious presentations" ("AM" 167). The Jews have their "Jehovah" and "the Whole Old Testament/ of butcherly chastisement" which "coerces humanity/ to an 'assumed acceptance'/ of an abstract idea" ("AM" 169). Even "Indigenous neighbours/ before their hearths/ pile up their Gods/ sightless and mindless" (*AM* 153). Religion, for Loy, is a dangerous myth.

Artistic and sexual discourses are also targets of Loy's condemnation. Rachel Potter does a brilliant job of showing how Loy links both the Jewish and Christian traditions with attempts "to police a female body they position as obscene." Potter notes the way Loy's poetry uses crude carnal images[75] to assault "unhealthy, repressed attitudes toward the body" as well as to subvert "hypocritical cultural norms." In "Anglo-Mongrels," she observes, "it is the sentimental cant of the moral majority that Loy label[s] obscene" ("Obscene" 62, 48). Loy stereotypes and blasts out at both men—who, like her "evil" patriarchal father, is manipulative and controlling—and women, who like her mother, unquestioningly absorb, assimilate, and re-circulate the received moral codes and conventions typical of the oppressive social discourses of the day. Loy goes on to attack "both literary decadence and Dadaist transgression" (*Worldly* 73), symbolized by Ova's male counterparts, Esau Penfold and Colossus, whose gendered upbringing affords them approbation and a degree of sexual, social, and artistic license very different from her own. Loy is writing at a time when literary censorship and legal prosecutions for indecency were at a peak, yet she brashly refuses to be constrained by the prevailing public conception of what is admissible in art.[76] She is bent on bringing down ideological barriers and testing representational limits. In her "Feminist Manifesto," she insists

that "there is nothing impure in sex—except the mental attitude to it" (*LOS* 156). In their "Introduction" to *The Salt Companion to Mina Loy*, Potter and Hobsen suggest that Loy's poetry extends this interest in "artistic authoritarianism" to a "more politicized ... conflict between modern art and the sinister authority of the state" ("Introduction" 3).

Loy's early engagement with F. T. Marinetti and the Italian Futurist movement led her later to parody Futurism's masculinst, militaristic, forward-driving agenda. In "Anglo-Mongrels," Loy co-opts Marinetti's concept of "*parole in liberatà*" to her own feminist ends. Her manifesto "International Psycho-Democracy" is an appeal for "the conscious direction of evolution": an appeal "to the thinker, the scientist, the philosopher, the writer, the artist, the mechanic, the worker, to join intelligent forces in a concerted effort to evolve and establish *a new social symbolism, a new social rhythm*" (*LAS* 282). In her rejoinder to the Futurist's *Manifesto*, Loy reproaches "the **Heroic Personification of Man as Dominator of the Elements**" and calls for cultural evolution and the "transformation [of] collective consciousness." These she posits as an alternative to the "Criminal Lunacy" of militarism and war (*LAS* 276, 278). Militarism, Loy asserts:

> sustains the belligerent masculine social idea. Like all concentrated human forces it is psychically magnetic.... Militarism forms the nucleus of national *Influential symbolism*; the flag, the uniform; inspires the *Rhythm of national popular enthusiasm*: the march, the band, parade. (*LAS* 281)

Like Virginia Woolf, Loy lashes out at nationalist energies that command compliance with the interests of the state. Also, as Frost acutely discerns, "Loy counters the emphasis on political might with a feminist politics of regeneration, underlining the need for new cultural symbols and systems" (*Feminist* 40).

Loy's "Anglo-Mongrels" can be described as being profoundly "restless." Like its subject, the figure of exile—the stereotypical and racist "wandering" Jew who, in

Loy's hands, becomes the creative "wondering Jew"—the poem positions itself against conventional expectations and traditional literary norms. Tellingly, it is the epic form which Loy chooses to parody in *Anglo-Mongrels*. Frost contends that Loy's use of the epic emerges from her desire to transform "the genre's nationalistic role and attack the 'normal' culture, which critics like E. M. W. Tillyard have argued it represents" (Frost 37).[77] Like Joyce's *Ulysses*, Loy's poem mimics and mocks many genres, including biography, allegory, fantasy, romance, realist narrative, and historical tragedy-comedy.[78] Structurally, Loy's poem is deliberately loose, irregular and paratactic. The final section comprises eighteen individually-titled subsections—a "collage" or series of jostling but juxtaposed units, which refuse to be regulated or synthesized. Written in free verse, Loy's poem eschews formal arrangement, rhyme, rhythm, and meter. The structure of her verse paragraphs is seemingly infinitely variable in length, syllable count, lineation, and spacing of words on the page. Punctuation is virtually non-existent. Her use of white space, bold capitals, inconsistent font size, fragmented syntax, and onomatopoeic sounds, make reading her poem a visual and auditory as well as an intellectual experience. Neologisms, *double-entendres*, and innuendo are games Loy plays with linguistics. All rules of poetry and political correctness, in Loy's work, are radically rejected.

Most importantly, however, as Perloff, Potter, and others have recognized, Loy understands "the ideological power which attaches to ... language" (Potter "Obscene" 51). Loy attempts to dislocate words from their official meanings, or as she herself once put it, to "free" them from the canonical "frame or glass cage [of] tradition" (*LAS* 298). Echoing Foucault, Frost suggests that in "Anglo-Mongrels," "the social categories that shape us all (class, race, and gender) are figured in language, which the poet must necessarily alter in order to alter consciousness" (*Feminist* 37). Perloff and others have observed that Loy accomplishes this largely through her invention of a unique polyglot language. In her essay entitled "Modern Poetry," Loy

specifically links the most innovative modern poetry with a polyglossia "proceed[ing] out of America, where latterly a thousand languages have been born,"

> each one, for purposes of communication at least, English—English enriched and variegated with the grammatical structure and voice-inflection of many races, in novel alloy with the fundamental time-is-money idiom of the United States, discovered by newspaper cartoonists. (*LOS* 158).

(As Loy declares in *Anglo-Mongrels*: "See *Punch!*" ("AM" 130).) With its fast and expansive culture, America has a vitality that energizes the spoken word:

> This composite language is a very living language [Loy claims], it grows as you speak. For the true American appears to be ashamed to say anything in the way it has been said before. Every moment he ingeniously coins new words for old ideas. (*LOS* 159)

Like American jazz, modern American poetry has a musicality of language; it breaks with formal poetic traditions. Modern poets, Loy insists, *create their own form* "determined by the spontaneous tempo of their response to life": "*Poetry is prose bewitched, a music made of visual thoughts the sound of an idea*" (*LOS* 157-58, 157; emphasis mine).[79] In her poetry, Loy opposes both nationalist and artistic authoritarianism precisely by offering something distinctly different in verse and, in so doing, she frees up powers that are not reducible to state power. Her firm commitment is to disruption, social/cultural anarchy, and diffusion. Throughout her work, Loy suggests metaphorically that being a cosmopolitan citizen of the world of art is the answer to governmental attempts to confine the discourses and terms of citizenship to narrow, nationalistic, and state-serving bounds.

VIII. Conclusion

The American Scene, The Ambassadors, and "Anglo-Mongrels" all explore the politics of citizenship in an age of governmentality. Both James and Loy identify the

networks of power which underpin the new and evolving forms of the modern art of government. Like Foucault, both authors recognize that "[p]ower must be analyzed as something which circulates ... [that power] is employed and exercised through a net-like organization" (*Power/Knowledge* 98). James's and Loy's works examine the process of internalizing cultural values and oppressive social mores. Both writers perceive that people "concretize in their actual personal lives the social and political ideologies they choose or are constrained to live out" (Jaskoski 362). They also, however, identify a human need for consciousness to strive for something beyond itself. "The collective consciousness," James reflects, "in however empty air, gasps for a relation, as intimate as possible to something superior, something ... round which its life may revolve" (*TAS* 593). The new forms of governmentality tap this human drive. *Raison d'État* posits that the state is responsible for society, "a civil society," and the state's role is to see to the management of this so called civil society. The fundamental aim of governmentality is to ensure the security of the phenomena of economic processes in a way which ultimately, invariably, involves the best interests of the nation itself.

Foucault argues that at the heart of the counter-conducts that develop in correlation with modern governmentality is the very concept that drives the art of government itself. The insertion of the idea of freedom into the theory of governing *validates* the freedom and rights of individuals legitimately opposed to the power, usurpations, and abuses of the authority of the state. The essential objective of counter-conducts, Foucault states, is precisely the rejection of *raison d'État* and its fundamental requirements. James and Loy grasp and mobilize this basic paradox. Like Foucault, they recognize that nationalist ties are cemented in language and discourse. As such, they adopt aesthetic means to propose a different "civilized scheme," using language as a tool or form of resistance to challenge *raison d'État*. The aesthetic for James and Loy becomes a symbol *for an expanded frame of*

reference, for something beyond the confines of the strictly national. For James, this involves an imagined return to a more genteel tradition, which is rooted in white patriarchal privilege; for Loy, it means moving beyond the normative, conventional constraints of "a philistine society which cannot tolerate difference" (Jaskoski 351). While both writers use their art to produce an unexpected and unsettling textual experience, James holds that language is the medium through which culture is imparted and defined, the mark of "the degree in which a society is civilized.... [I]ts quality, its authenticity, its security," he reasons, is "supremely important for the general manifold opportunity, for the dignity and integrity of our existence" (*TQS* 44).[80] The control of tone and form of expression, the preservation of the polite customs of social intercourse, and the sustaining of certain standards of civility, are supremely important to James. Loy, on the other hand, regards the subversive use of language as a formidable instrument in her struggle against government. As a committed artist and cosmopolitan citizen, she is relentlessly determined in her poetic endeavours to shatter established orthodoxies, conventional boundaries, and all forms of national ideology.

James and Loy are writing in an era in which citizenship rights came to be understood within a national and nationalistic frame. The following chapter picks up on the theme of nationalism and further explores its consequences in terms of militarism and war. The discourses of war are mechanisms of power, in Foucault's terms, another means of managing populations. In their respective texts, Virginia Woolf and W. H. Auden consider the citizen's responsibility to the nation in time of war.

Figure 1:

The ethnic groups of Austria-Hungary in 1910 according to *Distribution of Races in Austria-Hungary* by William R. Shepherd, 1911.

Endnotes

[1] James's sentiments about the war are echoed in Stephen Dedalus's words in the "Nestor" episode of Joyce's *Ulysses*, in which Dedalus describes history as a "nightmare from which I am trying to awake" (*Ulysses* II:42). The statements quoted here are taken from the "Chronology" of the life of Henry James, appended to the 1993 Library of America, New York edition of *Henry James: Collected Travel Writings: Great Britain and America*, 806. In a letter to Howard Sturgis shortly after war was declared in 1914, James expressed horror at "the plunge of civilization into this abyss of blood and darkness"; in separate letter to Edith Wharton, he stated that he felt "unbearably overdarkened by this crash of our civilization" (Lubbock 28).

[2] See Ross Posnock, editor, *Henry James: Novels 1903-1911* (Library of America, 2010), p. 1178.

[3] I am indebted to Lesley Higgins and Marie-Christine Leps. Their article, "Passport Please: Legal, Literary, and Critical Fictions of Identity," contains an excellent summary of the theoretical framework of Foucault's concept of governmentality. See Section IV, "On Governmentality," 108-111.

[4] *The American Scene* is a personal account of James's ten-month travels throughout the eastern United States from Boston to Florida in 1904-05. Although James planned the work as a book, ten of the fourteen chapters were initially published in periodicals between April 1905 and November 1906. The English edition of the book was published 20 January 1907, and the American, with some revisions, one week later. James's premise, as described in his "Preface" to the New York Edition of this work, is that having been absent from America for almost a quarter century, he brings to his project both the acuity of perception of "an initiated native" and the "freshness of eye" of an outsider. He goes on to explain that his approach to analyzing the American scene differs in one important respect from other

examinations of early twentieth-century American life: "There would be," he states, "a thousand matters—matters already the theme of prodigious reports and statistics—as to which I should have no sense whatever ... features of the human scene, ... properties of the social air, that the newspapers, reports, surveys and blue-books would seem to confess themselves powerless to 'handle.'" James would therefore take his stand on his "gathered impressions," he would, in fact, "go to the stake for them." The "Preface" advertises James's intention of focusing on "the human subject," and "an appreciation of life itself" as opposed to economic and sociological facts (*TAS* 353-54). As discussed later in this chapter, James's "Preface" can be read as part of attempt to oppose aesthetic to political discourse but also as an endeavour to control the way in which his work would be interpreted.

[5] Mina Loy's "Psycho-Democracy: A Movement to Focus Human Reason on the Conscious Direction of Evolution" was first published in 1920 as an eight-page pamphlet by Typographià Peri & Rossi. It was reprinted in New York in the Autumn 1921 issue of *The Little Review*. It was more recently reprinted as "International Psycho-Democracy" in The *Last Lunar Baedeker* (Roger L. Conover, editor) in 1982. Loy's political manifesto is comprised of a series of tenets by which her invented "International Psycho-Democratic Party" proposes to govern humankind. As Sandeep Parmar explains, "Loy's proposition for a new human order is based on 'the redemption of the Intellect' from institutionalised modes of knowledge such as education." See "Not an Apology: Mina Loy's Geniuses," *The Wolf*, no. 17 (Spring 2008), pp. 77-86. See also Rachel Potter's chapter, "Mina Loy: Psycho-Democracy" in Potter, editor, *Modernism and Democracy*, pp. 152-183.

[6] Loy's poem "Anglo-Mongrels and the Rose" was never printed as a whole during her lifetime. The first two parts appeared in *The Little Review* in the Spring 1923 and Fall/Winter 1923-24 issues (IX, pp. 10-18 and IX, pp. 41-51, respectively.) The third part, composed of eighteen individually titled subsections, was published by Robert

McAlmon's Contact Publishing Company, in a fifty-eight page section of his 1925 anthology of "works in progress," the *Contact Collection of Contemporary Writers* (Three Mountains Press, pp. 137-194). The poem was only finally published as a complete unit when Roger Conover included it in his comprehensive 1982 edition of Loy's poetry, *The Last Lunar Baedeker*, pp. 109-176.

[7] Roger Conover refers to Loy's poem "Anglo-Mongrels and the Rose" as "Auto-mythology" in his "Textual Notes" to *The Last Lunar Baedeker*, p. 326. A pun on the word autobiography, "auto-mythology"—or "auto-mythography" as it is sometimes called—suggests the ironic way in which Loy's semi-autobiographical poem subverts or abandons the conventions of the traditional genre. For a more fulsome discussion, see Melanie Mortensen's M.A. thesis, entitled "The Mongrel-Girl of Noman's Land: Mina Loy's 'Anglo Mongrels and the Rose' as Autobiography." Montreal: McGill University, Streamgate: http://digitool.library.mcgill.ca/webclient/StreamGate?folder_id=0&dvs=1499898169939~979&usePid1=true&usePid2=true

[8] Michel Foucault taught at the Collège de France from January 1971 until his death in June 1984. The title of his Chair was "The History of Systems of Thought." *Security, Territory, Population* is the course Foucault delivered in 1978. As Michael Senellart explains in his forward to the book published under that name, Foucault's public lectures were preserved via cassette recordings; it is the transcription of these recordings (translated by Graham Burchell) that, as accurately as possible, reproduces the text of the course as delivered. The lectures are available on audio cassette at the *Bibliotèque du Saulchoir* in Paris.

[9] James's elder brother William (1842-1910) was a well-known American philosopher, psychologist, and educator.

[10] *The Atlantic Monthly*, founded in 1857 in Boston, was created as a literary and cultural commentary magazine; it helped to launch and support the careers of many new writers, Henry James prominent among them. The publication still exists today

as *The Atlantic*. In its early days, James was a regular contributor to *The Atlantic Monthly*, the founding aim of which was to advance the "American idea," and serve the cause of freedom through literature. As Susan Goodman's research has shown, James contributed to the *Atlantic's* goal of shaping a national literature. In addition to the many stories and novels he published in *The Atlantic*, James wrote a number of signed and unsigned critical reviews. These, Goodman notes, "helped formalize the aesthetics of literary studies" ("James" Web. np.) For additional background about James's relationship with *The Atlantic Monthly*, see Goodman's article, "Henry James and the American Idea."

[11] *The Nation,* the oldest continually published weekly magazine in America, was founded in Manhattan in July 1865. At age twenty-two, James wrote "The Noble School of Fiction" for *The Nation's* first issue. Over the years, he would write, in all, more than 200 essays and book, art, and theatre reviews for the magazine. Katrina vanden Heuvel, *The Nation 1865-1990* (Thunder's Mouth Press, 1990), p. 5.

[12] *The North American Review*, founded in Boston in 1815, was the first literary magazine in the United States; its mandate was to foster a genuinely American culture. William Tudor was its first editor and Charles Eliot Norton and James Russell Lowell were co-editors from 1862-72. Henry James's *The Ambassadors* was published in serial form in *The North American Review* in 1903 before being published in revised book form by Methuen in London and Harper in New York.

[13] The *New York Tribune* was founded by Horace Greenly in 1841. Greenly was its editor for the next thirty years; during his tenure, the *Tribune* became one of the more significant newspapers in the US. In 1924, the Tribune merged with the *New York Herald* to form the *New York Herald Tribune*. The newspaper was home to a number of important writers up to the time of its demise in 1966.

[14] Joseph Leon Edel (1909-97) was an American literary critic and biographer whom *The Encyclopædia Britannica* calls "the foremost twentieth-century authority on the

life and works of Henry James." A former professor of English and American letters at New York University, Edel was the editor of the definitive five-volume biography of Henry James, completed in 1972, which, along with his one-volume abridged edition, *Henry James, a Life,* is based on James's unpublished correspondence, diaries, and other letters. Edel also edited *The Complete Tales of Henry James*, 12 vols. (1963-65) and *Henry James Letters*, 4 vols. (1974-84). Other biographies of James include F. W. Dupee, *Henry James* (1951, reissued 1973); Gordon Pirie, *Henry James* (1974); and Harry T. Moore, *Henry James* (also published as *Henry James and His World*, 1974).

[15] For further information on James's immersion in London society, see vol. 2 of Edel's biography, entitled *Henry James: The Conquest of London*.

[16] Two of these novels, *The Bostonians* and *The Princess Casamassima* (both 1886), deal with social reformers and revolutionaries. Among several others that followed were *The Tragic Muse* (1890), *The Spoils of Poynton* (1897), *What Maisie Knew* (1897), *The Turn of the Screw* (1898) and *The Awkward Age* (1899) whose subjects revolve around the developing consciousness.

[17] The New York Edition of Henry James's fiction is a twenty-four volume collection of novels, novellas, and short stories that had originally been published in the US and UK between 1907 and 1917. In the process of preparing the New York Edition, James collaborated with the photographer Alvin Langdon Coburn on the frontispieces and also significantly revised several of the texts. The entire edition (formally entitled *The New York Edition of the Novels and Tales of Henry James*) was republished by Charles Scribner's Sons during the 1960s. The celebrated prefaces, which James wrote when he edited and revised his texts for publication in the New York Edition, provide a detailed critical analysis and explanation of his own work. Critics generally view James's prefaces as an "exemplary case of authorial afterthought" (see Philip Horne, *Henry James and Revision: The New York Edition*).

[18] Shortly before his death in 1916, James received the Order of Merit (O.M.) from King George V. James's stone is inscribed "Novelist, Citizen of Two Countries and Interpreter of His Generation On Both Sides Of The Sea." A memorial stone was placed for him in the Poet's Corner of Westminster Abbey in 1976.

[19] When Loy arrived in New York in 1916, her reputation preceded her. Between 1907 and 1916, Loy lived in Florence, where she had been part of avant-garde circles that included a number of well-connected literary figures and patrons of the arts. Through these and other contacts, Loy's radically modern poetry was already being published in a host of new American literary magazines when she decided to move to the United States. Upon her arrival, Loy was contacted by a reporter who wanted to interview a representative "new woman." As Carolyn Burke reveals, "The reporter came away from the interview with the impression that this new woman believed it out-of-date to write or live according to the rules and thought it necessary 'to fling yourself at life' in order to discover new forms of expression." See Carolyn Burke, "Coming to Light: American Woman Poets in the Twentieth Century," p. 37.

[20] The *Manifesto del Futurismo* or "Manifesto of Futurism" was written by the Italian poet Filippo Tommaso Marinetti (1876-1944) and published, first in the *Gazetta dell'Emilia* in Bologna (5 Feb. 1909) and then, in French, in *Le Figaro* (20 Feb. 1909). It proclaimed the ideology of Futurism, the avant-garde movement founded by Marinetti, which shunned tradition and glorified industrial and technological progress. The Futurists embraced all things presumed to be masculine: speed, machinery, bombast, youth, and war. They were also highly conscious of the media utilized to market their message. They were the inventors of a visual form of poetry they called "*parole in libertà*" or "words in freedom." *Parole in libertà* involved liberating words from their conventional contexts and meanings by destroying syntax, eliminating punctuation, highlighting sound in their work (using such techniques as onomatopoeia, consonance, assonance, suggestive auditory neologisms and puns,

alliteration, varying rhythms, and bold typeface to suggest volume), and playing with typography and the visual arrangement of words on the page. Several critics have acknowledged Loy's debt to Futurism's revolutionary aesthetic ideas. They also invariably note way in which her work, especially her "Feminist Manifesto," forms a blistering critique of her pugilistic, male, Futurist mentors. See Virginia Kouidis, *Mina Loy: American Modernist Poet*, 49-59; Carolyn Burke, "The New Poetry and the New Woman: Mina Loy," 39-43; Rachel Blau DuPlessis, "Seismic Orgasm: Sexual Intercourse, Gender Narratives and Lyric Ideology in Mina Loy," 264-91; and Elizabeth Arnold, "Mina Loy and the Futurists," 83-117.

[21] Rachel Potter's essay "Obscene Modernism and the Wandering Jew: Mina Loy's Anglo-Mongrels and the Rose" does an excellent job of analyzing Loy's poem in terms of social and sexual satire. As Potter points out, from early on Loy incorporated sexualized flesh and obscene images in her poetry, partly in order to challenge unhealthy, repressed attitudes to the body and partly to test representational limits. Potter notes that Loy was writing at a time when prosecutions for literary obscenity in Britain and America were rising exponentially. In *Becoming Modern*, Carolyn Burke reports that Loy was part of a group "cheering in support of the *Little Review* outside the Jefferson Market police court when the journal was put on trial for publishing *Ulysses* in 1921" (50).

[22] These were just some of the well-known "little magazines" that started appearing in Britain and the US around 1880. Little magazines published serious, non-commercial, and non-conformist writings and they flourished, under different names and in various incarnations, through much of the twentieth century. In America, between 1912 and 1930, several were particularly influential in launching the careers of previously unknown, avant-garde writers, like Mina Loy.

[23] See among others, Sandeep Parmar's "Not an Apology: Mina Loy's Geniuses," p. 85.

[24] Only two collections of Loy's work were published in her lifetime: *Lunar Bædecker* [sic] (1923), and *Lunar Bædeker and Time-Tables* (1958). The misspelling of "Baedecker" (which should be Baedeker), in the first title, went uncorrected by the publisher, Robert McAlmon's Contact Editions. Loy was largely forgotten after her death and, as was the case with many of her female contemporaries, for many years her work was neglected and excluded from the literary canon. It was only in 1944 that the American poet and critical essayist Kenneth Roxroth claimed Loy as a key American Modernist and began lobbying to have her work reprinted. It was not until 1957, however, that the poet Jonathan Williams contacted Loy about re-issuing her poems; the result was that Jargon Press published his collection of her poems entitled, *Lunar Bædeker and Time-Tables*, in 1958. In 1982, Roger L. Conover edited the third volume of Loy's writing, *The Last Lunar Baedeker*. It is this edition that contains Loy's poem "Anglo-Mongrels and the Rose" as well as a large collection of her previously uncollected, unpublished poetry and prose. In 1996, Conover issued another volume, entitled *The Lost Lunar Baedeker*.

[25] The *Little Review* (1914-1929) was one of the American "little magazines," an era-defining journal that first published extracts from Joyce's *Ulysses*. It was founded by Margaret Anderson with the backing of Jane Heap (and Ezra Pound). The publication was dedicated to featuring a wide variety of transatlantic, experimental work, including not only literature but also Surrealist art.

[26] Loy's "constructions" were exhibited at the Bodley Gallery in New York. The show, which Loy did not attend, entitled "*Refusées*," was curated by Marcel Duchamp. In 1959, Loy received the Copley Foundation Award for Outstanding Achievement in Art for her "experiments in junk."

[27] For a more detailed examination of this argument see Marjorie Perloff's essay "English as a Second Language: Mina Loy's 'Anglo-Mongrels and the Rose.'"

[28] Virginia Woolf satirizes the "sartorial splendour" of men in the clergy, courts, military, and universities in her political treatise *Three Guineas*. Chapter Three of this dissertation contains a detailed discussion of this topic.

[29] The "Treaty of Westphalia" (an umbrella term for a series of peace accords that established the notion of sovereign states in Europe) recognized and encouraged the breaking up of the Roman Catholic Church and became the foundation of nationalism in Europe.

[30] *The Making of Americans* is the title of a 1925 novel by Gertrude Stein. In this work, Stein meditates on the making of America while radically reworking the traditional family saga.

[31] The melting pot theory has been used "to describe societies that are formed by an assortment of immigrant cultures that eventually produce new hybrid social and cultural forms. The melting pot theory holds that, like metals melted together at great heat, the melting together of several cultures will produce a new compound, one that has great strength and other combined advantages.... The theory is most commonly used to describe the United States as a new world with a distinct new breed of people amalgamated from the many various groups of immigrants. Because of this, the melting pot theory has become synonymous with the process of Americanization." Stacy W. Maddern. "Melting Pot Theory," *The Encyclopedia of Global Human Migration*. Wiley Online Library: 4 February 2013. Web accessed 2 March 2017.

[32] The consumption and appetancy metaphors that run throughout *The American Scene* are striking, and they support James's overriding theme of the nation devouring its people through the process of normalization.

[33] In ch. 5 of her book, *Henry James and the Writing of Race and Nation*, Sara Blair relates James's documentary project in *The American Scene* to Lewis Hines's famous photographs of immigrants entering the United States through Ellis Island, where, in

1905, as many as five thousand foreigners a day were being processed. Like James's text, Hines's photographs explore the technologies of social management. While James asks "[w]hat cultural forms ... will frame, document, and manage the making of Americans and the recruiting of a national body?," Blair argues that Hines's photographs form part of a political reform project "for reimagining the city as a psychosocial space of racial contact, definition, and exchange" ("Documenting," p. 164).

[34] See Ch. 1, n. 45 and Ch. 3, n. 44 regarding Joyce and Woolf's similar use of "net" imagery. James may very well be borrowing from, perhaps distorting, George Eliot's grand metaphor of "this particular web" in *Middlemarch*, a novel that had a great impact on James. His novel *A Portrait of a Lady* is very indebted to *Middlemarch*.

[35] James's repeated use of the word "swarm" could be taken from Baudelaire's celebrated description of Paris—"*Fourmillante cité*"—in "*Les Sept Vielliards*" ["The Seven Old Men"], which T. S. Eliot later borrows for *The Waste Land*. Importantly, this is yet another example of James dehumanizing Jewish people. See Baudelaire, p. 177.

[36] Lesley Higgins makes the argument that returning to the States in 1905, James's perceptions of America were preconditioned by the ideological and discursive practices he had been exposed to in London, the culturally and ethnically homogeneous city, which in *The English Hours* he calls "the capital of our race" (38). See Higgins, 168-69.

[37] James's novella, entitled *The Beast in the Jungle*, was published in 1903. The title, which James repurposes in this passage, suggests the feelings of dread occasioned by the unknown or racialized other.

[38] Interestingly, from 1893-1897 Gertrude Stein would have been of those women on her way to class at Radcliffe, studying with James's brother William.

[39] In a later discussion in which he praises the cultural homogeneity of the city of Philadelphia, James makes a similar reference to the "hordes" which may be "gathered" in "some vast quarter unknown" (*TAS* 586).

[40] It is worth noting again that James's choice of phrase in this passage reveals his underlying racist beliefs. To refer to the "native order" is to suggest that there is something essential about human types in the hierarchy of class, ethnic, gender, and racial relations.

[41] The idea of "the crowd" is one that becomes an important trope for a number of male Modernist writers who admired James, namely Ezra Pound, T. S. Eliot, and Wyndham Lewis. For these writers, as for James, the "crowd" is symbolic of the overly democratized modern world.

[42] See Blair's account of the highly-charged cultural history of the Pullman Palace Car Company, which built its first passenger railway car in 1864 and became, by 1910, a huge corporation, a symbol of corporate progress, dauntless power, a "cultural icon and agent in the consolidation of the American bourgeoisie"(193). See "Documenting", 193-209.

[43] Interestingly, the philosophy James discusses is also part of the plot of his 1897 novel, *What Maisie Knew*.

[44] At the time *The American Scene* was published in 1907, there were still a number of groups in the United States that did not enjoy full citizenship rights. *The Naturalization Act* (1906), among its many stipulations, required that immigrants learn English before they could become naturalized citizens. Legal voting rights had not yet been extended to women. The Fifteenth Amendment, passed in 1869, granted the right to vote to all native-born American men, including African Americans. No man was to be denied "on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude." This wording, however, did not include the words "on account of sex" and women in America were not finally granted suffrage until the

Nineteenth Amendment to the Constitution was passed in 1920. Although African American men had been extended the legal right to vote in 1869, several states started imposing poll taxes and literary tests effectively negating those rights. It was almost a century after the Fifteenth Amendment was passed before the *Voting Rights Act* of 1965 put a stop to any election practices that denied the right to vote based on race or ethnicity.

[45] This is Toni Morrison's basic argument in her essay "Black Matters." See *Playing in the Dark: Whiteness and the Literary Imagination*, pp. 4-28.

[46] James's description of these authority figures has echoes in Virginia Woolf's parodies of ceremonious men in *Three Guineas*.

[47] For Conrad's reference to "fraudulent cookery," see *The Secret Agent* p. 115.

[48] Rachel Potter notes that the word "mongrel" had taken on highly negative associations in relation to growing anti-Semitism and the so-called "mongrel" texts which, in the early 1920s, were seen to be "corrupting U.S. Publishing" and "threatening the purity of a tradition of American literature" ("Obscene 54). Also worthy of note is Ann Douglas's *Terrible Honesty: Mongrel Manhattan in the 1920s*, which insightfully examines how a diverse group of African American and other writers, artists, and musicians, living in New York, revolutionized American culture during the Jazz Age.

[49] The third section of "Anglo-Mongrels" is further divided into eighteen individually titled segments which form a collage or group of juxtaposed units dealing with various topics such as marriage ("Marriage Boxes"), religion ("Christ's Regrettable Reticence"), and Art ("Opposed Aesthetics"); or people, such as Loy's/Ova's mother and father, her governesses, and future husbands Esau Penfold and Colossus. These subsections also deal with Ova's relationship to the world: "Psychic Larva," "Ova, Among the Neighbours," and "Jews and Ragamuffins of Kilburn." Each subsection relates to and

comments on all the others in a myriad of densely woven repeating images and themes, articulating a complex argument in lyric form.

[50] Loy's lineation, her punning by breaking up words into their morphemes, her neologisms, and her use of white space on the page, are all methods by which she adds layers of often ironic meaning to the poem.

[51] The *ficelle*, a figure that James takes from French drama, is a confidante whose role in the story is to elicit and convey important information to the reader in a way that appears seamless and avoids the need for more heavy-handed narratorial intervention. A *ficelle*, James explains, is someone who can turn what would be "the seated mass of explanation after the fact" into scene and dialogue (*Art* 321). The term comes from the French for "puppet strings." James stresses the supplementary status of the *ficelle* but insists that "the seams or joints of [her] ostensible connectedness" to the subject and plot must be "taken particular care of, duly smoothed over, that is, and anxiously kept from showing as 'pieced on'" (*Art* 53, 323-24).

[52] Critics have debated the nature of the unnamed consumer object that is produced in the Newsome factories at Woollett. R. W. Stallman argues that is a time-keeping device of some sort, a watch or a clock. See "'The Sacred Rage': The Time-Theme in *The Ambassadors*," pp. 41-56. See also Mark Hama, "'A Palpable Gift of Time': The Convergence of World Standard Time and Mass Advertising in Henry James's *The Ambassadors*." pp. 9-32.

[53] Loy's choice of the word "lashes" suggests both ties that bind and punish. This idea is a motif that runs throughout the poem.

[54] The phrase "bonded in mystic incest with its ancestry" suggests a mythical history or story of obscure origins constructed by people colluding and conspiring together in their own interest.

[55] Loy's reference to a never-setting sun parodies Britain's imperialist ambitions. It echoes the phrase "the empire on which the sun never sets," which was a reference used, with variations, to describe the British empire in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries—an empire that was so extensive that there was always a portion of its territory in daylight.

[56] In "Anglo-Mongrels," as Melanie Mortensen and others have shown, Loy's portrayal of her father as "Exodus" incorporates all the different stereotypes of Jews that were prevalent at that time and illustrates how they were racialized in social discourse. Loy's conversion of the figure of the "Wandering Jew" to that of the "Wondering Jew" is her way of subverting the standard image using language tied to a new idea.

[57] Loy's use of the word "gymnastic" in the passage quoted harkens back to Plato. In the *Republic*, *Symposium*, and other texts, the exercise of the body is as important as the exercise of the mind. The term is also suggestive of Foucault's later interest in the docile, disciplined body. The gymnastic/flesh tension in Loy's lines is splendid. Interestingly, she truncates the quotation: it is usually offered as a trio of bedevilment: the world, the flesh, and the devil (*mundus, caro, et diabolus*). It is not a biblical quotation per se—it is a phrase used by the likes of Peter Abelard, Thomas Aquinas, and so many others, and reiterated in the Book of Common Prayer.

[58] Sandra Gilbert and Susan Gubar's groundbreaking book of feminist criticism, *The Madwoman in the Attic: The Woman Writer and the Nineteenth-Century Literary Imagination*, was published in 1979. Their work elaborates the theory that writers in the nineteenth century portrayed women either as "angels" or "monsters" due to men's tendencies to categorize women in these ways. In a well-known essay, "Professions for Women," Virginia Woolf insists that the first thing a woman who wants to write must do is "kill the Angel in the House." The writer must destroy a "certain phantom," whom she eventually names after "the heroine of a famous poem, The Angel in the House" ("Professions" *E6* 480). Hovering over her, casting a

shadow on her paper, crowding out her thought, confining her to the domestic sphere, teaching her to sacrifice her happiness and fulfilment for that of her husband and children—this angel must go. This "immensely charming" phantom repeatedly comes "between me and my paper," Woolf writes: "It was she who bothered me and wasted my time and so tormented me that at last I killed her.... She died hard. Her fictitious nature was of great assistance to her. It is far harder to kill a phantom than a reality. She was always creeping back when I thought I had despatched her" (*E6* 480-1).

[59] *The Ambassadors* contains a similar passage, discussed later in this chapter, describing Strether's impressions of the entryway to Madame de Vionnet's apartment. The comparison between James's and Loy's descriptions is telling. While James's passage stresses dignity, distance, and discretion, Loy's is provocative and sexually graphic, revealing much about their respective opinions as to what is and is not appropriate in literature.

[60] Rachel Potter's essay "Obscene Modernism" provides an excellent discussion of the way in which Loy's poem connects the infamous legend of the "Wandering Jew" with the development of the stereotypical image of wandering as a pathological condition, based on the claims of well-known psychiatrists such as Jean-Baptiste Charcot (1867-1936) and Henry Meige (1866-1940). See "Obscene," pp. 55-57.

Potter also, interestingly, associates anti-Semitism with the growing battles between avant-garde literature and the censor. Potter points out that a number of the new and important publishers of obscene texts in the 1920's were Jewish immigrants and she contends that these publishers were seen, not only to be corrupting US publishing, but also "to be disseminating mongrel texts," written by recent immigrants, which "threatened the purity of a tradition of American literature" ("Obscene" 54).

[61] See Virginia Woolf, *Three Guineas*, pp. 19-21. Woolf's argument equating patriarchy at home with militarism and war abroad is examined in further detail in Chapter Three of this dissertation.

[62] In post-World War I London and Paris, simultaneously, the tombs of the Unknown Warriors were memorialized on 11 November 1920; Loy is alluding to a very contemporary event and object of national veneration. (The English tomb is in Westminster Abbey, London.)

[63] The phrase "Crisis of Consciousness" comes from a line in Loy's "Aphorisms on Futurism": "TODAY is the crisis in consciousness" (*LAS* 273). It is also the title of Elizabeth Frost's chapter on "Anglo-Mongrels and the Rose" in her book, *The Feminist Avant-garde in American Poetry*. Frost contends that for Loy "altering language might create a *new* consciousness and liberate the reader from the fetters of outworn ideas" (*Feminist*, 34).

[64] The "lemon coloured volumes" Strether buys in Paris, James's narrator later reveals, are a seventy-volume collection of Victor Hugo's works (see: *TA* 216).

[65] James's choice of words in this passage is interesting. Like Loy, James often deploys words with multiple connotations. "Want" in the description of Strether is a good example, suggesting both what he desires and what he lacks. "Dignity" is another word James uses often in both *The American Scene* and *The Ambassadors*. It becomes a textual motif which projects a kind of racialized anxiety or concern about the potential loss of "dignity," position, and privilege, which James worries an overly-democratized America might occasion.

[66] *"Panem et Circensus*," or Bread and Circuses.

[67] Interestingly, the "caryatid" is both aesthetic and disciplinary: the (always) female figures are used as pillars to hold up a Greek or Greek-style building, such as a temple. They are figures of support and entrapment (the ancient Greeks conquered the city of Carya: killed the men and enslaved the women).

[68] Loy's choice of the word "agency" brings to one's attention the two very different meanings of the term and the two different ways in which James and Loy use it. In the context of theorizing subjectivity and identity, "agency" refers to the person's exercise of power, action in the world, and attempts (of the kind both Strether and Ova make) at resistance in the Foucauldian sense. It also, however, is a synonym for the social "machine" to which James refers in *The American Scene*; the institutions that Foucault cites as shaping "individuals." (It is important to note that "individual" is a paradoxical word in Foucault's lexicon: it should refer to a singular and autonomous figure, but it identifies, instead, the most disciplined and subjugated person, one who has wholly naturalized the forces that shape his/her life, beliefs, and sense of self. For Foucault, disciplinary and governmental power produce the individual.)

[69] Virginia Woolf employs a similar motif in *Three Guineas*, where she connects economic disparity between the sexes to the "sovereign" power men wield in society and the position of dependency to which women are accordingly relegated. In the same vein, Woolf insists that her reader think about the history of the coin known as the guinea, the slave trade currency initially used in Africa along the Guinea coast.

[70] "Opposed Aesthetics" is the subtitle of one of the subsections in the third part of "Anglo-Mongrels and the Rose."

[71] "Freedom" is another paradoxical term in Foucault's vocabulary. Freedom is something that is "indispensible" to government (a "condition of governing well" is that "freedom, or certain forms of freedom, are really respected") but it is also the right of individuals legitimately opposed to the power of government to engage in counter-conducts that articulate that opposition (*STP* 353). The latter right in no way implies total freedom. The measure of freedoms granted is always controlled and manipulated by the state. As Foucault observes, "there will always be governments, the state will always be there and there is no hope of having done with it" (*STP* 355).

Yet, against this theme, Foucault argues one can *postulate* a "moment" when "counter-conducts" *could* develop that would bring "the indefinite governmentality of the state" to an end: when a *real* "civil society" might "prevail over the state"; when the "bonds of obedience" might be broken, "not in juridical terms but in terms of essential and fundamental rights"; and finally when the "nation" might be "entitled to its own knowledge" and "possessor of its own truth" (*STP* 356-57).

[72] In the "Art of Fiction," James—countering Ruskin and many other Victorian writers—insists that faithfulness to life is the most important factor in the art of the novel, that choice of subject belongs to the artist without restriction, and that artistry, not morality, should be the criterion for judgment of a work. This essay was originally published in *Longman's Magazine* 4 (September 1884) and reprinted in James's *Partial Portraits*. See: http://virgil.org/dswo/courses/novel/james-fiction.pdf

[73] See in particular Mark Seltzer, *The Art of Power* and Dietmar Schloss, *Culture and Criticism in Henry James*.

[74] In his 1993 book *Black and White Strangers*, Kenneth Warren is disturbed by James's racist leanings, citing his frequent habit of resorting to black stereotypes. Bryan Washington's 1995 *The Politics of Exile* claims *The American Scene* is symptomatic of James's elitism. Jonathan Freedman's 1996 book, *Between 'Race' and Culture*, argues that "underneath the tense interplay between anti- and philoSemitism evident in *The American Scene* lies what can only be described as structuring, second-order anti-Semitism, a persistently problematic pattern of thinking and writing that installs the Jew in the vexing position of the other" (67). On the other hand, Beverly Haviland in *Henry James's Last Romance: Making Sense of the Past and the American Scene* (1997), provides strong evidence that James deeply identifies with the dispossessed alien. Haviland contends that although James has "been characterized as representing the nostalgic, conservative position ... this hoary image of him" obscures the fact that what was crucial for James "was not the

intact preservation of Old World Culture ... but a sense of the past that could be translated into the present." He found, she concludes, "that the people best able to do so were the ones who had previous experience holding onto their identity while living on the margins of the mainstream—namely the Jews" (xiii, 148).

[75] The most famous of Loy's graphic images, "Pig Cupid/ His rosy snout/Rooting erotic garbage," is contained in her "Love Songs to Joannes" (*LAS* 91) See also Potter's discussion of Loy's attack on "pruderies": "Obscene," pp. 47-51.

[76] The idea of what is admissible or not admissible in art is also a crucial theme of James's essay "The Art of Fiction" (see n. 72). James insists that the "execution" of art and the "morality" of art are two very different matters.

[77] Frost quotes Tillyard, who asserts that, "While at home in large areas of life, the epic writer must be centered in the normal, he must measure the crooked by the straight." E. M. W. Tillyard, *The English Epic and Its Background* (Chatto and Windus, 1954), p. 8.

[78] See Elizabeth Frost's discussion of Loy's use of the mock epic, *Feminist* 36-37; see also Melanie Mortensen's thesis that Loy's poem invents a form of "auto-mythography" to challenge the conventional genre of autobiography. Ch. 3 of Mortensen's study focuses on the way in which "Anglo-Mongrels" utilizes "Lands of the Cultural Imagination"—Romance, Fantasy, Allegory, and Myth—to examine and question society from an outsider's perspective. "Mongrel-Girl," pp. 3-6 and 65-80.

[79] In a similar vein, it is interesting to learn that in his introduction to the 1946 edition of *The American Scene*, W. H. Auden celebrated James's work as a prose poem. See W. H. Auden, "Introduction," p. x.

[80] Henry James's 1905 essay "The Question of Our Speech" was originally delivered as an address to the graduating class at Bryn Mawr College. In it James argues that speech is the medium by which culture is imparted and defined: "of the degree in which a society is civilized," he contends, "the vocal form, the vocal tone, the

personal, social accent and sound of its intercourse, have always been held to give a direct reflection" (TQS 45). James concludes that not only does one's speech reflect one's personal and collective identity, it may even be said to form one's very social identity: "All life therefore comes back to the question of our speech, the medium through which we communicate with each other; for all life comes back to the question of our relations with each other. These relations," he states, "are made possible, are registered, are verily constituted by our speech" (TQS 44).

Chapter Three

Citizenship and War

Nothing brings the concept of citizenship so starkly into focus as impending war. War is the result of human conflicts which draw hard ideological lines between peoples and territories, both within and across borders. War is a response to a perceived threat to the security of the people, to those who are deemed "citizens" of the country. It demands action and necessitates ethical choices on the part of each and every individual born, naturalized, or living within the nation's bounds. It shines a searing light on the meaning and obligations of citizenship. Furthermore, it raises the curtain on the racisms of the state: who qualifies as a citizen? What are his/her civic and ethical responsibilities in the event of war? What powers should governments be given to safeguard the nation and its citizens' interests when confronted by aggression at home or abroad? How does the state's need for collective action square with the private person's principles? Under what circumstances is war justifiable and, in point of fact, is there ever such a thing as "just" war? Whose interests does it protect and defend, whose justice does it serve, whose rationality does it privilege, and who, ultimately, pays the price for war? These were pressing issues for politically engaged writers of the 1930s, for, as the decade wore on, the possibility of a second major European conflagration became a looming reality, and any sense of isolation or insularity that Britain felt in the aftermath of WWI seemed increasingly tenuous.

English writers Virginia Woolf and W. H. Auden were prominent in their respective literary circles by virtue of the strong ethical stand each took with respect to war. Yet, the issues war raised were far from simple, and both writers were highly attuned to this fact. Although both Woolf and Auden were vehemently anti-fascist, each was acutely aware of the dangers involved in becoming too insistent, too

"didactic," too "shrill" and one-sided in his or her own right.[1] Doing so, they realized, risked falling into the very ideological trap they were attempting to avoid. Their writings constituted their critique of power but were also, crucially, their means of resistance. Their experiments in fictional and poetic form became integral to their political arguments and led to what—given their political leanings—is a far more complex and delicately nuanced treatment of these themes in their writing than one might first expect. This chapter examines the ways in which Woolf, in her later works—*The Years* (1937) and its companion piece, *Three Guineas* (1938)—and Auden in his explicitly political verse of the late 1930s, probe the implications of their own deeply-held convictions about war. In the course of their intellectual explorations and respective experiments with aesthetic form, both writers unsettle and undermine any easy assumptions about the nature of the relationships between citizen and nation, art and politics.

As Michel Foucault observes, "[w]ars are no longer waged in the name of a sovereign who must be defended. They are waged on behalf of the existence of everyone; entire populations are mobilized for the purpose of wholesale slaughter in the name of necessity" (*HS* 137). In its juridical form, the power to wage war was exercised mainly as a right of conscription but, in the twentieth century, conscription has become merely one element among others in the exercise of power. The nation's survival and people's way of existence can only be secured if the community understands the stakes. Citizens must be suffused with the belief that it is heroic to be willing to fight, *even to die*, for one's country. Foucault's premise is that "[t]he principle underlying the tactics of battle—that one has to be capable of killing in order to go on living—has become the principle that defines the strategy of states" (*HS* 137). The discourses of war in this context become a mechanism of power, a means of managing populations—in short, instruments of "governmentality."[2] Like Foucault, Woolf and Auden grasp how the discourses of war are connected, in

complex and complicated ways, with the functioning of power, the subjection of people, and the definition and management of citizens. A Foucauldian reading of their works from the late 1930s provides insight into how their political thinking deepened and evolved, how it came to structure their understanding of the possibilities for resistance, and how this, in turn, significantly shaped their aesthetic projects. A sustained Foucauldian reading opens Woolf's and Auden's work to a reassessment from a perspective that other critics have overlooked.

Like Conrad and Joyce, Woolf and Auden were born a generation apart (Woolf in 1880; Auden in 1907), but they shared a number of remarkable connections which this chapter will explore. Both were born into upper middle-class circles of English society, yet both considered themselves "outsiders," barred from the full privileges of citizenship: Woolf on the grounds of being a woman in a male-dominated world; Auden on the basis of his homosexuality, the practice of which, at that time, was a criminal offense punishable by imprisonment.[3] Both Woolf and Auden were deeply preoccupied with the question of what it meant to be English in the early decades of the twentieth century and, "more importantly," as Anna Snaith has observed, "what it meant to be excluded from that category" ("Introduction" xcvii).

The experience of war had a profound impact on Woolf, who was in her mid-thirties when Germany began its bombing raids on London during WWI. The war's influence on Woolf's writing has been well documented.[4] While just a boy at the time, Auden was nonetheless also affected. A number of critics have demonstrated the role WWI played in shaping the literary output of the group of writers who later came to be dubbed the "Auden Generation."[5] Certainly, neither Woolf nor Auden could ignore what, in retrospect, Davenport-Hines described as "the noxious, pompous stupidity" (*DH* 143) of the generals, politicians, diplomats, bankers, and crowned heads of state whose arrogant self-interest propelled their nations into war 1914—1918; nor could Woolf or Auden turn a blind-eye to the war's brutal

consequences. Mussolini's march in Rome,[6] November 1922, the British General Strike of 1926, the Wall Street Crash of 1929, and the hunger marches of the early 1930s,[7] provided evidence of mounting economic disparity between classes: massive unemployment, uneven distribution of power, increasing labour struggles, and growing domestic unrest. As Woolf observed, "when the tower began to lean, writers became acutely conscious of their middle-class birth and expensive educations" (LT 171).[8]

Like other intellectuals of the inter-war years, Woolf and Auden watched with increasing concern the ominous procession of events abroad: in 1931, the Japanese incursion into Manchuria; in 1935, the Italian invasion and use of mustard gas on civilians in Abyssinia; and in the same year, Hitler's staging of the Nuremberg Rally[9] and passage of the Nuremberg Laws which condoned anti-Semitism in Nazi Germany. In 1936, a military coup in Spain catapulted that country into civil war, and in fast succession, Germany's repeated violations of the Treaty of Versailles led to the 1938 occupation of Austria and subsequent 1939 annexations of Czechoslovakia and Poland. As Woolf would observe, war was no longer, as it was in the nineteenth century, something remote: "Today we hear gunfire in the Channel. We turn on the wireless; [we hear the events first hand]; ... we hear Hitler's voice as we sit home of an evening" (LT 164). With Europeans moving, seemingly inexorably, towards another catastrophic war, both Woolf and Auden were deeply unsettled by the sense of being swept up in what Auden described as "the dangerous flood of history."[10] Both were passionately convinced of their duty to resist fascism, in their personal lives and in their writing; both would reject the patriotic call to support their country when, on 3 December 1939, Britain declared war on Germany.

Woolf, while vigorously anti-fascist, was a confirmed pacifist who, as a woman, would famously exclaim, "What does 'our country' mean to me, an outsider? ... in fact, as a woman I have no country. As a woman I want no country. As a

woman my country is the whole world" (*TG* 98, 99). "By law," Woolf would argue, "a woman becomes a foreigner if she marries a foreigner" and this gives her very little reason to fight for a country that "throughout the greater part of its history has treated me as a slave; ... denied me education or any share of its possessions" (*TG* 99).[11] In fact, although the *Representation of the People (Equal Franchise) Act*, *1928* extended voting rights to all women over the age of twenty-one, it would be another twenty years before the *British Nationality Act 1948* granted full citizenship rights to women who had ceased to be British subjects by reason of marriage.[12] Such glaring inequality of treatment between the sexes prompted Woolf to exhort women and men to form an anonymous "Outsiders' Society" (*TG* 97) and to refuse to support the war effort in any form:

> to bind [themselves] not to fight with arms ... make munitions or nurse the wounded; ... to take no share in patriotic demonstrations; to assent to no form of national self-praise; to make no part of any claque or audience that encourages war; to absent [themselves] from military displays, tournaments, tattoos, prize-givings and all such ceremonies as encourage the desire to impose 'our' civilization or 'our' dominion upon other people. (*TG* 98, 100)

Auden, although also opposed to totalitarianism in all its forms, took a different tack. Like many of his Oxford-educated contemporaries in the mid-thirties, he was an idealistic supporter of the radical left who, early on, embraced the notion that one needed to participate in the class struggle in order to be able to write meaningfully about it. Auden insisted upon active engagement in the fight against fascism. His political poetry of the late 1930s stresses his belief that the artist's role was one of "extending our knowledge of good and evil ... [of] making the necessity for action more urgent and its nature more clear" ("Preface," *The Poet's Tongue* ix). The dominant tone of his work from this period is imperative, insistent, and intense. "To-day, the struggle" (*Spain*) seems to sum up his focus on the immediate, and on the

immense importance of individual commitment and decisive action, at a time he perceived to be a historically defining moment.

Yet, less than two years later, Auden would famously assert that "Poetry makes nothing happen" ("In Memory of W. B. Yeats," 1939). His seemingly contradictory views concerning the efficacy of art and the obligations of citizenship have been the subject of much scholarly debate.[13] Many critics read Auden's statement about poetry as signalling his sudden disillusionment with political activism, prompting him, on the eve of World War II, to desert Britain and his fellow citizens for the relative (at least for Auden) isolation of America. A close reading of the Yeats elegy, however, offers a more complex explanation of what many viewed as an act of personal cowardice on Auden's part. My interpretation of the poem, outlined later in this chapter, offers a different, more cohesive account of Auden's abrupt rejection of his celebrity and abandonment of his public responsibilities. His decision, I maintain, has much to do with his evolving thinking about the role of poetry and his maturing understanding of the relationship between artist and politics.

The events of the Spanish Civil War (17 July 1936–1 April 1939) were a political flashpoint for both Woolf and Auden. Fought between the Republicans (the democratically-elected leftist government whose ranks were comprised of socialists, communists, and anarchists along with peasants, labourers, and trade-unionists) and the Nationalists (led by General Francisco Franco, whose support came largely from rebellious conservative factions of the army, industry, landowners, and the Catholic Church), the Spanish conflict was understood by many to represent a crucial confrontation, the outcome of which would determine Europe's future. The Nationalists had the support of fascist governments in Germany and Italy; the Republicans, or "Loyalists" as they were also known, received assistance from the Soviet Union, as well as from "International Brigades" composed of volunteers from Europe, Canada, and the United States. Many young, foreign leftists enlisted in the

International Brigades with the hope of turning back the tide of fascism in Europe. Among them were Auden, and Woolf's nephew, Julian Bell, who in solidarity with several of their peers, eagerly volunteered to support the Republican cause in Spain. The two men set off (separately) in 1937 with the intention of being ambulance drivers. Auden, however, was promptly put to work producing propaganda. Within mere weeks of their departures, Auden returned to England, totally disheartened by his experience, and Bell was killed by a bomb blast in the Battle of Brunete.[14]

Instead of going back to the war as he had originally intended, Auden penned his famous poem "Spain," which was originally published that same year and sold as a pamphlet to raise money for Spanish medical aid. (Like Auden, Woolf was involved, along with other artists, in generating awareness and financial support for the republican Spanish cause.)[15] This poem would subsequently undergo significant revision when Auden retitled and republished it as "Spain 1937" for the volume *Another Time* (1940). As Sean Grass has observed, "Spain 1937" has attracted much critical attention "because it shows us how Auden's political sensibilities changed during the late 1930's" (84). In January 1938, Auden and his close friend Christopher Isherwood set off for Asia to report on the Sino-Japanese conflict. Six months later, they made their way home via the United States. It was in early 1939, before World War II began, that Auden made the decision to leave Britain to settle in America, where subsequently, in 1946, he acquired U.S. citizenship. As Sharpe notes, Auden's radical about-face was astonishing for a young man, who, in England, was lauded as a leading light of his literary generation. For someone who gave "every appearance of being a committed left wing activist ... his willingness to be a non-participant" (*Auden* 15), when war was declared, seemed to repudiate both his own public role and his earlier, fervent calls for militant action.

Woolf’s and Auden's positions were radical in the social context of their day. Both writers were driven by an unwavering commitment to truth and a profound

belief in the need for a more equitable distribution of citizenship rights. Yet despite their strongly held opinions, Woolf and Auden consistently defy easy categorization. Although an ardent supporter of the rights of women to enter the professions, earn a living, and have an equal voice in civic affairs, Woolf was cognizent of the pitfalls associated with joining the feminist (or, for that matter any other organized) movement. Likewise, Auden, despite his strong leftist leanings, never became a card-carrying Communist. Both were, by nature, distrustful of "societies," which Woolf in *Three Guineas* defines as "a conglomeration of people joined together for certain aims." Societies, she contends, are "conspiracies that sink the private brother ... whom we respect, and inflate in his stead a monstrous male, loud of voice, hard of fist, childishly intent upon scoring the floor of the earth with chalk marks" (*TG* 96).

Both writers were highly attuned to the world around them; both were voracious readers with fluid minds, eclectic interests, and a consuming passion for assembling and arranging, from a sweeping array of sources, masses of data about everyday life. Still, both had an extraordinary capacity for arranging seemingly disparate phenomena, the disordered ephemera of daily existence, into larger social, historical, and political contexts. Both had the ability to discern the labyrinthine interrelatedness of discourses of intolerance. Each was in the habit of relentlessly re-examining, reappraising, and reworking not only their own views, but also their manuscripts, galley proofs, and, in Auden's case, even his previously published poems. Fortunately, careful tracing of the history of revisions Woolf and Auden made to their texts affords deeper insight into each writer's thinking. Considering this, and following Foucault, the balance of this chapter undertakes a re-evaluation of Woolf's and Auden's political work from the 1930s in the context of what I argue is their growing understanding, over the period, of war as an instrument of governmentality. It explores the connections that Woolf and Auden make between power and

knowledge as well as the political implications such relations bring to bear on questions of citizenship.

I. Art and Politics

The nature of personal responsibility in the face of power situated and exercised at the patriarchal family and broader social levels, as well as at the "level of life, the species, the race, and the large scale phenomena of population" (Foucault *HS* 137), is a key concern for Woolf, Auden, and Foucault. It is also, in relation to citizenship, an important question for this chapter. Tied closely to this issue is the debate surrounding the political role of the artist, particularly as it pertains in time of war. In her polemical treatise *Three Guineas* (1938), Woolf insists that:

> War as a result of impersonal forces is beyond the grasp of the untrained mind, but war as the result of human nature is another thing.... Men and women, here and now, are able to exert their wills, they are not pawns and puppets dancing on a string held by invisible hands, they can act and think for themselves, perhaps even influence other people's thoughts and actions. (*TG* 6)

As Edward Mendelson has pointed out, much of Auden's poetry is similarly absorbed with "the value of first-person speech in a world increasingly dominated mass media, and generalities, and the value of the individual human face in a world increasingly dominated by statistics." Political events in Auden's poems, Mendelson observes, "are effectively part of impersonal nature; they belong mostly to the realm of mass movements and the cyclical rise and fall of empire; while, in contrast, ... unique, decisive acts of choice and love" belong to the realm of "personal speed and individual action," to the realm of "the body with its... indifference to all local, ethnic, political, and national loyalties" (*SP* "Introduction" xxiv). The idea that the nation is comprised of "irreducibly individual persons, each with rights of their own"

(Mendelson *SP* "Introduction" xvi) is one that lies at the heart of both Woolf's and Auden's thinking.

In an essay published in *The Daily Worker* 14 December 1936, entitled "Why Art Today Follows Politics" (1936),[16] Woolf recognizes that preserving one's political immunity, as a writer in the 1930s, is no longer an option. As Woolf notes in her diary: "*The Daily Work*er article. Madrid not fallen. Chaos. Slaughter. War surrounding our island" (*D*5 32). In the same issue of that newspaper was an article on the Spanish Civil War dealing with British volunteers and artists (including Woolf's sister, Vanessa Bell) who supported the struggle. In her essay, Woolf argues that "[s]ociety is... [the artist's] paymaster and patron" (*AP* 76). In time of war, the artist comes under pressure from the state: "[p]aint us pictures, carve us statues that glorify our gospels," it demands, "[c]ome down from [the] ivory tower, leave [the] studio" and help actively, "by making aeroplanes, by firing guns" (*AP* 77). If the artist is to preserve her independence and the integrity of art, she concludes, she or he is forced to take a stand, "forced to take part in politics" (*AP* 77).

In 1931, Woolf penned the essay entitled "The Leaning Tower," in which she both criticized and encouraged the next generation of writers, "the group which began to write in about 1925 ... Day Lewis, Auden, Spender, Isherwood, Louis MacNeice and so on" (LT 170). In Arnoldian terms she judged these young poets to be caught "betwixt and between" two worlds, "one dying, the other struggling to be born" (LT 176).[17] Like their predecessors, Woolf claims, these men were "tower dwellers," "the sons of well-to-do parents," who (quoting Auden), had "stucco suburbs and expensive educations behind them" (LT 170).[18] The political landscape around them, however, was shifting dramatically:

> Everywhere change; everywhere revolution. In Germany, in Russia, in Italy, in Spain, all the old hedges were being rooted up; all the old towers were

> being thrown to the ground. Other hedges were being planted; other towers were being raised. There was communism in one country; in another fascism. The whole of civilization ... of society was being changed.... [E]ven in England towers that were built of gold and stucco were no longer steady towers. They were leaning towers.... These things made writing an appallingly difficult task. (LT 170, 176)

As Woolf explains, "in 1930, it was impossible, if you were young, sensitive, and imaginative — not to be interested in politics"; but Auden and his contemporaries were in a difficult position. Thrown completely off kilter by the realization their world was "founded on injustice and tyranny," they were "trapped by their education, pinned down by their capital"—for how, Woolf asks, do you critique a society that gives its citizens, "after all, a very fine view and some sort of security ... a society ... you continue to profit by?" Their state of mind, "reflected in their poems ... plays and novels," she concludes, "is full of discord and bitterness, full of confusion and compromise" (LT 172).

In her 1932 essay "Letter to a Young Poet,"[19] Woolf goes further, suggesting that modern poetry seems to her to be "cracked in the middle," straining to capture "reality on one side, beauty on the other" (LYP 187). As a result, the poet "breaks his machine trying to clog it with raw fact." (As this chapter will show, Woolf recognizes that "raw fact" can be deeply deceiving and exasperatingly difficult to pin down). Confronted with this problem, many poets, Woolf claims, turn instead to writing about themselves, which in her view, often makes them "unintelligible" (LYP 190). Honesty is greatly needed, but the dilemma is finding the "right relationship between the self you know and the world outside. No living poet," she submits, has "altogether solved it" (LYP 191).

Woolf writes with considerable authority, for as her diaries and letters reveal, not only did she take great interest in the work of this upcoming generation of

English writers, she grappled with similar difficulties in her own processes of composition. In the autumn of 1932, Woolf's notebooks reveal that she had returned to a project, the basis of which was a speech she had given to the London and National Society for Women's Suffrage (LNSWS) on 21 January 1931.[20] In the intervening months, she had remodelled her idea of that essay: "Its to be an Essay-Novel, called the Pargiters—& its to take in everything, sex, education, life &c; & come, with the most powerful & agile leaps ... from 1880 to here & now—That's the notion anyhow" (*D*4 129). She envisioned the endeavour as "venturous, bold":

> I want to give the whole of the present society—nothing less: facts as well as the vision. And to combine them both.... Is this possible?... It should aim at immense breadth & immense intensity.... And there are to be millions of ideas but no preaching—history, politics, feminism, art, literature — in short a summing up of all I know, feel, laugh at, despise, like, admire, hate & so on. (*D*4 151-52)

In this passage, Woolf hints at two problems which would consume her during the arduous six years she spent taking the original draft of her novel-essay to its final form of publication as two texts: the novel, *The Years* (1937), and the essay she considered its off-shoot and complement, the treatise on women and war entitled *Three Guineas* (1938). First was the issue of how to give coherent form to the "torrent of fact" she had been amassing "these 20 years" (*D*4 133); how to marry "fact" and "vision," politics and art. "I have collected enough powder to blow up St Paul's" (*D*4 77), she would observe, but the issue was how creatively to embed this mountain of potentially incendiary material in an artistic work of fiction. One "must get the round, not only the flat. Not the theory only." Perhaps by introducing "plays, poems, letters, dialogues ... [a]nd conversation," she speculates, it might be possible to capture "intellectual argument in the form of art" (*D*4 161). (Auden, as this chapter will show, wrestles with similar kinds of questions in his work). Woolf's

second dilemma, ironically, was how to keep politics and art separate; how to present "argument" without becoming polemical; how to avoid the difficulties of becoming artistically beholden to certain socio-political agendas; and how to create a "novel of fact" while resisting "the tug of vision"—the artist's natural inclination to seek unity, resolution, closure—an integrated point-of view that imposes order on ordinary life (*D*4 129). These were the problems that faced writers in the 1930s.

In the following sections, I explore the ways in which Woolf and Auden respond to the threat of tyranny; how, by artistic means, they analyze power in its myriad forms and manifestations; and how, in their respective critiques, art becomes their attempt to resist power's constraints. Both writers grapple with the problem of how individual agency and autonomy can be maintained in the face of the powerful political forces of nationalism, particularly in time of war. Their writing exposes the ways in which the "obligations of citizenship" are constructed in social discourse and how these expectations are used to advance the nation's political interests. Woolf’s and Auden's work reveals how such "patriotic norms" circumscribe people's lives; how they are used to differentiate and subordinate certain social groups, restrict admission to the privileges of citizenship, and bar democratic access to power. Woolf's investigation focuses on patriarchal attitudes at home, which she argues, are closely connected with fascist aggression abroad. Like Woolf, Auden presents his own complex understanding of power and the pressures of public responsibility. His poetry considers the obligations of citizenship while recognizing that political collectives often become hierarchical and coercive, compromising the human side of life. Auden's poetry is deeply committed to principles of equality. As this chapter will show, he seeks the "just society" where all citizens are equal. Woolf, on the other hand, avoids speaking in terms of citizens and citizenship rights altogether as part of her deliberate strategy to resist playing into the nationalist agenda which she believes is responsible for propelling nations and their people into war.

II. The Art of Government

In order to follow Woolf's and Auden's methods of critiquing power, it is helpful to understand Foucault's investigation of sexuality and how it relates to his theory of governmentality and the exercise of bio-power. In Volume 1 of *The History of Sexuality*, Foucault examines what he observes has been the steady proliferation of discourses concerning human sexuality over the past three centuries. Foucault posits that the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries marked the beginning and subsequent expansion of the censorship and policing of sex. Yet, despite attempts to expunge sex from conversation and despite all the laws and prohibitions imposed on its conduct, there has been a "veritable discursive explosion around and apropos sex" (*HS* 18). How is this to be explained? One of the great innovations of power occurred, Foucault claims, when governments perceived they were dealing, not simply with "subjects," or "people[s]", but with "populations"; when they began to recognize "population as an economic and political problem; population as wealth, population as manpower or labor capacity, population balanced between its own growth and the resources it commanded." For the first time, starting in the nineteenth century, "society ... affirmed, in a constant way" that its future and its fortune were tied "to the number and uprightness of its citizenry" (*HS* 25, 26). At the heart of this problem, Foucault contends, was sex. If governments were to manage populations, the sexual conduct of citizens needed to be directed, and controlled. Sexuality needed to be grasped as both "an object of analysis and a target of intervention" (*HS* 26).

Foucault's work traces the way in which, "increasingly since the Classical Age, we live in a society in which political power has assigned itself the task of administering life" (*HS* 136). There were two poles, Foucault maintains, between which "the organization of power over life was deployed":

> One of these poles, the first to be formed, ... centered on the body as machine: ... integrating it into systems of efficient and economic control. The second, formed somewhat later, focused on the species body, the body imbued with the mechanics of life ... serving as the basis of the biological processes: propagation, births and mortality, the level of health, life expectancy and longevity, with all the conditions that can cause these to vary. Their supervision was effected through an entire series of interventions and *regulatory controls: a bio-politics of the population*. (*HS* 139)

Foucault cites what he calls "four great lines of attack" along which the politics of sex have advanced over the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (*HS* 46). Each one, he states, involved combining disciplinary techniques with regulative methods. First, women bore the responsibility for the health of their children, the solidity of the family institution, and the stable equilibrium of society. Females who failed to conform to this designated role were branded as "nervous" or "hysterical."[21] In the endeavour to monitor this, women's bodies generally became increasingly subjected to "medical intervention, clinical examination, and theoretical elaboration" (*HS* 31). Secondly, on the basis of the belief that precocious sex would result in impotence or even permanent sterility, any sign of sexuality in children became cause for parents, teachers, doctors, and psychologists to intervene in an attempt to suppress such behaviour in the interest of "the health of the race" (*HS* 146). Thirdly, sex took on a social obligation. The married couple was politically persuaded to believe it was its duty to the population as a whole, to procreate. Fourthly, Foucault observes, matrimonial relations became "saturated with prescriptions" (*HS* 37), and any anomalous sexual behaviour, any "perverse pleasures," however minor, became pathologized in the name of ensuring the moral cleanliness of the social body. All along there had been legal and religious sanctions against such serious sexual crimes as rape, sodomy, incest, bestiality, and adultery, but now a number of "peripheral

sexualities" (*HS* 40) made their appearance and an individual's sexuality came to be understood, "as the root of all [one's] actions" (*HS* 43). Human beings, in other words, came to be defined by their sexuality.

Foucault reasons that the aim of governmentality, in focusing on all these new species of perversion, was not to suppress them, but rather to give these "deviant" behaviours "analytical, visible, and permanent reality" (*HS* 44). The objective is to exercise a continual expansion of control. The unrelenting extension of discursive interest in sexuality is visualized by Foucault "as a dispersion of centers from which discourses emanated, a diversification of their forms, and the complex deployment of the network connecting them" (*HS* 34). Interestingly, Foucault's image of dispersion recalls a splotch-like symbol, a black mark with radiating lines (Fig. 1), which Woolf used as a section divider in her holograph drafts of *The Pargiters*. This same figure—a dark dot with spokes raying out from its centre—appears repeatedly in *The Years*, as Eleanor Pargiter doodles absent-mindedly with ink on her blotting paper.[22] The image is suggestive of a number of themes which permeate *The Years*. One of the most important is this concept of power deployed through the numerous associated, allied, and affiliated discourses of sexuality.

Before embarking on an analysis of Woolf's *The Years*, the following section examines its companion-piece, *Three Guineas*. That extended essay contains Woolf's most overt statement of her political beliefs and thus it can be productively contrasted with Auden's poem "Spain," which, as it appeared in its original published form, is arguably the most explicit expression of his early propagandist politics. The dominant critical assessment of these works is that they are, as Woolf might put it, "didactic" and "preachy." Grace Radin argues that by the time Woolf completed *The Years*, many of her strongest views—advanced in early drafts of her novel-essay as well as in the final form of *Three Guineas*—had been "deleted, obscured, or attenuated" (148).[23] In Auden's case, the revision process was even more ruthless—

by 1939, he had returned to several of his poems to purge them of much of their explicitly political content. Later on, he would disavow these same poems completely, referring to them as "trash" which he was "ashamed to have written" (qtd. Mendelson *EA* 306). Yet, even when Woolf and Auden are at their most insistent, as they seem to be in works like *Three Guineas* and "Spain," they are never strictly one-sided. Anna Snaith points out that the notebooks Woolf used in the planning of her novel-essay project contain a vast collection of quotations, pictures, and newspaper articles which she formed into a collage, "transcribing, ... often cutting and pasting—fram[ing] or gloss[ing] the clippings only through juxtaposition" (liii). Similarly, Tony Sharpe notes "Auden's zest for aligning apparently disparate phenomena under some often idiosyncratic system of classification." Auden's method, which "in part depended on a technique of dispassionate observation ... had links with the techniques later put into practice by such enterprises as the 'Mass Observation' programme" set up by Charles Madge in 1937.[24] Involving "the wide-ranging collection and collation of data about everyday life [Madge's work] offered the potential for decoding collective patterns, undiscernable on an individual basis" (Sharpe 24). Both writers, I argue, were interested in all the messy politics of daily life, and were by nature inclined to take a multi-perspectival view of their subjects, or as Snaith might express it, theirs was always "a dispersed, many-centered approach" ("Introduction" lv).

III. Politics and Propaganda

In *Three Guineas*, Woolf's narrator responds to a younger man's question, "[h]ow ... are we to prevent war?" (3). The multifaceted reply she provides is that the question is far more complicated than it might at first appear. The reason is tied to the stealthy, subtle, serpentine ways in which power works and citizenship is defined and exercised. In 1937, a deep gulf still divided the sexes when it came to

access to power. Despite having obtained the vote, as well as the legal right to enter the professions, women lacked influence in all the major institutions of power.[25] The government, the church, the military, the stock exchange, and the press remained institutions where, either women were barred from membership, or control remained entirely in male hands. Men, in the governing classes, inherited property, enjoyed positions of prominence, and were endowed with the privilege of taking university degrees but far from teaching them "generosity and magnanimity," Woolf claims, these advantages make men "so anxious to keep their possessions ... in their own hands, that they will use not force but much subtler methods than force when they are asked to share them" (*TG* 29). Woolf makes the strong case that class entitlement trumps any truly democratic notion of citizenship. Moreover, she suggests, "force and possessiveness [are] very closely connected with war." Almost forty years before Foucault, Woolf was making a very Foucauldian argument about power.

In her essay, Woolf argues that both men and women have been taught to favour war. In the woman's case, the "great end and aim of [her] education" in the Victorian and Edwardian private house, was "marriage" (*TG* 36). Dependent as she was upon father and brother, she was forced to use whatever influence she possessed "to bolster up the system which provided her with maids, with carriages, with fine clothes; with fine parties—[as] it was by these means she achieved marriage." She must "accept men's views, and fall in with their decrees." In short, "all her conscious effort must be in favour of ... our splendid Empire." In addition, "[s]o profound was her unconscious loathing for the schooling of the private house with its cruelty, its poverty, its hypocrisy, its immorality, its inanity that she would undertake any task however menial, exercise any fascination however fatal that enabled her to escape. Thus ... unconsciously she desired our splendid war" (*TG* 37). In contrast, Woolf points out, by far the great majority of men "who have ruled

England for the past 500 years, who are now ruling England in Parliament and the Civil Service, have received a university education" and "do [the facts of history] not prove, that education, the finest education in the world, does not teach people to hate force, but to use it?" (*TG* 24, 29). The universities, Woolf implies, are bastions of pomp and privilege, where men are taught to feel set apart and superior by birth or intellect, taught to feel entitled to their salaries, status, and security, and taught to feel righteous about judging others by their own standards. All these things, the kinds of upbringing men and women receive in the home, in schools, in church, in the military, Woolf asserts, "have their share in encouraging a disposition toward war" (*TG* 21).

As previously stated, Woolf's aim when she embarked on the project that led to *Three Guineas* was to create a "novel of fact" (*D*4 129). To bolster her argument with "fact," Woolf turns from biographies and histories as sources of information to "pictures of actual facts; photographs." Photographs, she reasons, "are simple statements of fact addressed to the eye" (*TG* 9). There are two sets of pictures which Woolf chooses to bring to her readers' attention. The first group she only alludes to: photographs from the Spanish Civil War, "dead bodies for the most part," mutilated and grotesque; and the bombed out, "torn open" sides of people's homes (*TG* 10). Images such as these, conveying the suffering, brutality, and abominations of the war, were appearing with alarming regularity in English newspapers in 1936 and 1937.[26] Ingrained as they were in the public imagination, mere reference to them was enough to evoke powerful feelings of "horror and disgust" (*TG* 10). The other set of photographs, showing men at home in England, in *their* world, "the world of professional ... public life" (*TG* 16), are included as illustrations in Woolf's text (Fig. 2). The most striking aspect of these photos of men in the church, the military, the law courts, and the universities is their "sartorial splendour": the love of "velvet and silk, fur and ermine"; the obsession with "crimson" and "gold," "braid" and "brass,"

invented to "emphasize the wearer's superiority" and "impress the beholder with the majesty of ... office" (*TG* 19, 21). The photographs drew hostile reaction from a number of male critics who felt Woolf's comments about their dress made a mockery of their history and institutions (which she certainly did).[27] They are, however, are an integral part of Woolf's argument. Vividly depicting the distinctions, honours, and privileges accorded men in the professions, they become a covert means of challenging the hierarchical class structure of English society, and of thereby undercutting the democratizing notion of "citizen."

One interesting aspect of Woolf's description of the images is the way in which she destabilizes her own initial premise that they are merely "simple statements of fact" (*TG* 9). The photos from Spain, she notes, are from the "Spanish Government," sent with "patient pertinacity about twice a week" (*TG* 10). With this quiet observation Woolf raises serious questions as to what the photographs really represent—truth or propaganda?[28] The repeated references to the Spanish Civil War photographs function like a refrain in her text, reinforcing the emotional impact of the atrocities of war. Yet at the same time, Woolf brilliantly mimics the way such images are used to bombard the public with pointed, politically inflammatory messages. Similarly, every aspect of English men's ceremonial dress has an "advertising function": it serves to distinguish the "social, professional, or intellectual standing of the wearer" (*TG* 19), to "rouse competition and jealousy," and, in the case of the military, "induce young men to become soldiers." The connection between dress and the national agenda, "dress and war," Woolf concludes, "is not far to seek" (*TG* 21). Not only does her essay suggest that both women and men are subjugated by power but also that "truth" itself is entirely a construct of power: "Facts, as facts so often do, prove double-faced" (*TG* 26).

Another rather insidious aspect of power, Woolf suggests, is its penetration and interconnectedness in discourse. In their struggle against patriarchy—their

struggle to secure the vote, obtain a formal education, work in the professions, and gain economic independence women quickly discovered how social and governmental systems operated. Men in power marshalled all manner of arguments to keep women in their place. Money was used for purposes of control; "non-rational sex-taboo[s]" were invoked to explain why women should be precluded from occupations that had always been the exclusive province of men; science was called in to prove women's brains were smaller than men's, fitting them only for "routine work under the command of a superior"; and even then, their bodies, which were made for "'pregnancy, childbirth, and lactation,'" restricted their work outside the home (*TG* 127, 128).[29] Besides, men argued, "what charms and consoles in the private house may distract and exacerbate in the public office" (*TG* 48). Multiple, different forms of discourse emerged to buttress men's claims that "God was on their side, Nature was on their side, Law was on their side, Property was on their side" (*TG* 62). These campaigns were waged not only in public, but also privately and *sotto voce*. The fact that men instinctively felt threatened and women exhibited a seemingly innate fear of transgressing prescribed sexual boundaries had much to do with how deeply ingrained in discourse certain beliefs had become. As Woolf discerns, they are "imbibed, even from the governess" (*TG* 99), and they are accompanied by an "odour"—or "shall we call it 'atmosphere'?"—which is a very important, if "impalpable" element in professional life. "Atmosphere plainly is a very mighty power. Atmosphere changes the sizes and shapes of things; it affects solid bodies" (*TG* 50). Woolf is referring to the ways in which discourse, working through multiple institutions, "below the level of conscious thought" (*TG* 118), alters reality. "It was," she determines, "against instincts and prejudices such as these, tough as roots but intangible as sea mist, that [women] had to fight" (*E*4 421).

In a remarkably prescient observation about the way in which power functions, Woolf states in a note to the text of *Three Guineas* that there are "two

kinds of law, the written and the unwritten." Tacitly, she acknowledges the view that it may sometimes be necessary "to improve the written law by breaking it." Yet, she states that:

> the many and varied activities of the educated man's daughter in the nineteenth century were clearly not simply or even mainly directed towards breaking the laws. They were on the contrary, endeavours of an experimental kind to discover what are the unwritten laws; that is *the private laws that should regulate certain instincts, passions, mental and physical desires*. That such laws exist, and are observed by civilized people, is fairly generally allowed, but it is beginning to be agreed that they were not laid down by "God," who is now very generally held to be a conception, of patriarchal origin, valid only for certain races, at certain stages and times. (*TG* 166)

Yet, so entrenched are these unwritten laws, she intimates, that even if "[t]he old conception that one sex must 'dominate' another" were to become obsolete due to a recognition that "'intellectual differences between the sexes are very much slighter than popular belief allows,' ... *the repulsive task of coercion and dominion would be relegated to an inferior and secret society, much as the flogging and execution of criminals is now carried out by masked beings in profound obscurity*'' (*TG* 166-167; emphasis mine).[30] But this, Woolf concludes, "is to anticipate." Her comments, indeed, prefigure Foucault and reveal a highly sophisticated understanding of power. Yet, they also imply that the notion of resistance is extremely problematic.

Woolf's in-depth examination of the clandestine processes and rationales by which disciplinary norms are developed, disseminated in discourse, and embedded in the public consciousness, graphically illustrates the way in which a carefully delimited concept of who qualifies as a citizen comes to be constructed. While Woolf makes the case that "educated men's daughters" have made legal progress in England, she makes it clear that, in 1938, in terms of citizenship, little has changed, politically or

financially. Economic disparity profoundly skews political influence and laws remain on the books to ensure women "do not inherit great possessions." These same laws deny women "the full stigma of nationality" (*TG* 76). Woolf chooses the word "stigma" carefully, for "nationalism" or "patriotism" or "love of country" impose "duties" upon "the educated man" (*TG* 8). Woolf intimates that men, as well as women, are subjugated by power. *Three Guineas* emphatically connects patriarchy at home to fascism abroad:

> [the] Dictator as we call him when he is Italian or German, who believes that he has the right, whether given by God, Nature, sex or race is immaterial, to dictate to other human beings how they shall live, what they shall do ...
>
> [he] is here among us ... in the very heart of liberal England. (*TG* 50, 51)

If women's oppression is the result of a patriarchal system, patriotic pride is, in turn, what tyrannizes men. It prostitutes them to a system that, from the cradle, teaches them to feel "bound as ... [men]" to be competitive, combative, and chivalrous, to protect their possessions, "support [their] wive[s]" and defend their country (*TG* 61). Education and discourse in all the institutions of power cultivate strong allegiances in men—"pride of nationality in the first place; also of religious pride, college pride, family pride, sex pride and those unreal loyalties that spring from them (TG 75)". Power exerts its influence through these discourses and buys men's allegiance. Money, fame, praise, "badges, orders, [and] degrees" acquired in the practice of the professions, are "seductions" that "bribe [men] into captivity" (*TG* 75). Woolf suggests that if men had freedom from these unreal loyalties, their "slavery would be lightened" (*TG* 101). Far from being a feminist diatribe, Woolf's essay insists that both sexes are subjected by power. Quoting Josephine Butler, Woolf states: "'Our claim was no claim of women's rights only ... it was larger and deeper; it was a claim for the rights of all—all men and women—to the respect in their persons of the great principles of Justice and Equality and Liberty'" (*TG* 94).

Like Woolf, Auden recognizes that individuals are subjected by power, that nationalism, patriotism, and war are integral to the process of subjugation, and that the "just cause" is a notion that can be manipulated to obtain the individual's willing submission. By the time he penned "The Shield of Achilles" (1948),[31] Auden's position on war was clear. The poem depicts civilization, not in terms of classical beauty and values—a cosmologically balanced universe, a solid, well-ordered and progressive society symbolized by "vines and olive trees, [m]arble well-governed cities, [a]nd ships upon untamed seas"—but rather as "[a]n artificial wilderness" with "a sky like lead" that seems to crush the individual under its very weight. Instead of endorsing a heroic view of life, the poem buries any trace of individuality and personal initiative in "An unintelligible multitude,/ A million eyes, a million boots in line,/ Without expression, waiting for a sign." When orders to the congregated masses materialize, they come "[o]ut of the air," and "a voice without a face" proves "by statistics that some cause [is] just":

> No one was cheered and nothing was discussed;
> Column by column in a cloud of dust
> They marched away enduring a belief
> Whose logic brought them, somewhere else to grief. (*SP* 206)

Nazi-esque words and phrases like "march[ing]," "columns," and "boots in line" suggest conformity, the "cloud of dust" implies blindness, ignorance; and the passive construction of lines describing the "millions waiting ... enduring" emphasizes the lack of subjectivity. Power in this poem, like the "sky," is omnipresent. As Foucault would claim, "[p]ower is everywhere ... not because it embraces everything, but because it comes from everywhere.... [P]ower is not an institution, and not a structure;... [it] must not be sought in the primary existence of a central point, in a unique source of sovereignty" (*HS* 93). It is the name that one attributes "to a complex strategical situation in a particular society." It is "a multiplicity of force

relations [that] can be coded ... either in the form of 'war' or in the form of 'politics'" (*HS* 93).

Such an understanding of power and human subjectivity is also evident in Auden's earlier poem "Spain," although at the time of its composition in 1937, Auden's views on the Spanish Civil War were still deeply equivocal. "Spain" embodies this ambivalence. Written within a few weeks of his return from Madrid, the speaker remains sanguine about the need for decisive individual action, while simultaneously expressing profound reservations about the possibility of conscious choice. Edward Mendelson considers the poem a "record of disillusionment half accepted, half denied" (*EA* 315). It is "an extraordinarily complex poem," he suggests, which is "by far the best of hundreds of English poems written in support of the beleaguered Spanish Republic" (*EA* 315-16).

Over the years, most critics have read the poem as an "unequivocal call for activism in support of the Spanish left" (Grass 85). In Mendelson's judgment, "Spain" represents Auden's "first real effort to describe the transition from division to unity, from the struggling present to the fulfilled future" (*EA* 316-17). Mendelson's premise is that the poem operates on two levels: first, the "manifest argument," which occurs in the speaker's direct statements and which asserts that "all human actions are chosen by the will"; and second, the "metaphoric argument ... found in the poem's various rhetorical figures," which maintains that "some special actions in the political realm, actions directed at certain social goals, are the product not of will but of something very much like unconscious instinctive nature" (*EA* 317, 319). Noting that the poem's natural metaphors apply to only one side in the war, the Republican side, while human metaphors of "hatred and division" are associated solely with the Fascist side, Mendelson advances the idea that war is a projection of "our inner struggle between hatred and love, a struggle that occurs in everyone." Those "who fight on the correct side," the side of love, are—like nature—"undivided." Mendelson

suggests that Auden manages to have it both ways, inferring "that those who fight on the correct side are exempt from the human condition" (*EA* 319). It is unclear what Mendelson means by this latter statement, which implies that love has the power to elevate humankind to a higher plane of existence. Mendelson's conclusion seems to equate the natural, unthinking process—where "[m]oments of tenderness [and] hours of friendship" blossom, in times of calamity, into "a people's army—with some form of transcendence and bonding in an "undivided future which has already arrived as the charity of warriors" (*EA* 319).

If the poem's argument functions on two levels, I suggest that these are the levels of the "conscious" and the "unconscious" mind.[32] On the one hand, we have the voice of the speaker: the voice which argues that Spain represents the crucial moral conflict of its time; the voice that affirms the crisis of choice, "Are you for, or against, Franco and Fascism?,"[33] and the voice that demands definitive action. As Tony Sharpe observes, "Spain" was "a political act by which Auden wished to help shift the climate of opinion [in England] against governmental policy of non-intervention" (*Auden* 86). Auden's poem employs powerful rhetoric to declaim in favour of active engagement in the struggle against the kind of political oppression Franco represents and the speaker of the poem abhors. On the other hand, we have the speaker's unconscious thought, the self-reflexive questions, doubts, and fears that seem to bubble up unintentionally in his choice and juxtaposition of words, metaphors, and images. It is at the unconscious level that we find the kind of serious interrogation of power and human subjectivity that Woolf undertakes in *Three Guineas*. Sharpe notes that although Auden took a strong partisan position on the Spanish Civil War, he was shocked, on his arrival in Spain, by the fact that the democratic Second Spanish Republic government had ordered all the churches closed. Here was concrete evidence that authoritarianism and intolerance existed on the Republican as well as on the Fascist side; here was evidence that even the

seemingly most straightforward ethical issues can prove complex. At its subliminal level, "Spain" exposes these complexities.

Structurally, "Spain" is organized in terms of three major time periods: "Yesterday all the past," "To-day the struggle," and "To-morrow, perhaps the future" (*SP* 57). The first section chronicles the intellectual, theological, and technological stages by which civilization has developed. The images in the opening lines are ones of dispersion of knowledge, the spreading of trade, and the diffusion of power along the routes of empire. The poem traces the gradual replacement of pagan sign by religion: superstition, divination, fortune-telling, and myth are banished by "the abolition of fairies and giants," the "trial of heretics among the columns of stone." Industrialization, "the installation of dynamos and turbines, [t]he construction of railways in the colonial desert" transforms the natural landscape while the Church gives the "classic lecture" on the origins of humankind (*SP* 54-55). The choice of the phrase "the classic lecture," referring presumably to the biblical story of creation, implies that what one has traditionally been taught to believe is not necessarily the only version, nor is it necessarily true. The "belief" in the "absolute value of Greek" similarly suggests that classical, or received knowledge, is sometimes mistaken for truth.[34] This idea, followed immediately by the lines "[t]he fall of the curtain upon the death of the hero ... the sunset/ And the adoration of madmen" (*SP* 55), intimates that the loss of personal autonomy and initiative is linked with the rise in popularity of fascist dictators in Germany and Spain. Such images undermine the notion of progress in human history and the teleological argument that would imply the existence of a Designer and a plan.

The poem demonstrates that all is illusion: the "loose waterfall," made up of millions of droplets of water, "sings compact," is perceived as a single entity. To the poet setting out on his "sailor'[s] journey," it appears "upright on the crag" but only in relation to the adjacent image of "the leaning tower," which like the title of Woolf's

essay, implies a social order off-kilter and threatening to collapse. Scientific understanding of the world varies according to the microscopic or macroscopic perspective from which it is viewed, "the virile bacillus"[35] or "enormous Jupiter finished." Vision is also mediated; these phenomena are observed "through instruments" (*SP* 55). Such images undercut the poet's oratorical line of reasoning, weakening if not directly contradicting what Sharpe would describe as Auden's "assured address to contemporary history" (*SP* 14).

At the crux of the poem is the question of what it means to be a citizen in time of war. As Sharpe puts it, if we are morally opposed to "what is happening in Spain in 1937, ... what do we ... [do] about it?" (*SP* 85). In the poem, the "poor in their fireless lodgings" petition "History the operator, the Organizer, Time the refreshing river" (*SP* 55) for answers. Sharpe maintains it is "the life" that answers, repudiating any controlling role: "there are no divine or historical determinisms dictating people's actions" (85). My reading, rather, is that it is "the nations" who answer, who "combine each cry" of the people who, in fact, are themselves "the life," —"the heart/ And the eyes and the lungs [in] the shops and squares of the city." The "life" that the "nations [themselves]... invok[e]," however, is not the people, but "the life/ That shapes the individual belly" and "orders the private nocturnal terror." To "invoke" is to call upon some authority in support of an action or argument; in this stanza, the nations invoke the discourses of religion ("the dove"), science ("the mild engineer"), politics ("the city-state of the sponge"), patriarchy ("the furious papa"), and war ("the vast military empire of the shark") as seemingly level-headed reasons for raising the battle cry—but "the life" *is* the people. The speaker intimates that "the life" is both the power and the people, as in the social contract, where the citizenry is both the governing and the governed: "I am whatever you do.... I am your business voice. I am your marriage." The "life," however, is also from the speaker's perspective the "Yes-man, the bar companion," "the easily duped." In

answer to the question, "What's your proposal?," the speaker boldly asserts, "To build the just city? I will/ I agree." But his inner voice expresses doubt and uncertainty about the mission: "[o]r is it the suicide pact, the romantic/ Death?" Entry into the social contract seems to signify submission, subjection, and the death of the individual: "Very well, I accept, for/ I am *your* choice, *your* decision. Yes I am Spain" (*SP* 55, 56; emphasis mine).

Spain itself is represented as a divided geography, an "arid square," a "fragment nipped off from hot Africa/soldered so crudely to inventive Europe." This image — reminiscent of Woolf's description of "mystic boundaries ... penned rigidly, separately, artificially" by men "intent upon scoring the floor of the earth with chalk marks" (*TG* 96)—implies that Spain and war are constructs of power. Spain is also a projection of the inner landscape of the mind, a place where "thoughts have bodies," where "the menacing shapes of our fever are precise and alive," where "the fears which made us respond to the medicine ad. and the brochure of winter cruises/ Have become invading battalions": "And our faces, the institute-face, the chain-store, the ruin/ Are projecting their greed as the firing squad and the bomb" (*SP* 56). The poem suggests that we are the ones invaded and controlled by institutions and their discourses, not only in our ordinary, everyday lives when we are influenced by advertising and the desire to conform, but also in our role as citizens, where our individual rights have been subsumed by the political and militaristic agendas of our nations. In a key passage, the people, "the many," are described as sleepwalkers, automatons, heeding Spain's call. Having heard it, the poet states, they "migrated like gulls or the seeds of a flower/ They clung like burrs to the long expresses that lurch through unjust lands ... They floated over the oceans/ They walked the passes. All presented their lives" (*SP* 56).

While the speaker repeatedly insists on personal agency and choice—"[t]o-day the struggle ... [b]ut to-day the struggle"—he nonetheless, in his private

thoughts, entertains hopes of communitarianism, belonging, "friendship," and equality. He envisions a "people's army," a progressive, caring, and democratic future: "To-morrow the enlarging of consciousness," "the rediscovery of romantic love," "the eager election of chairmen/ By a sudden forest of hands." Ominously, though, all this takes place "under Liberty's masterful shadow" and the future is envisioned as "the hour of the pageant-master."[36] Liberty, then, is spectacle, merely an illusion. The reality is the present struggle, war and all its horrific consequences: "the young poets exploding like bombs,/ ... To-day the deliberate increase in the chances of death/ The conscious acceptance of guilt in the necessary murder" (*SP* 57). Although the ethical choice to fight in Spain would appear conscious and deliberate, it results in feelings of guilt because war forces one to participate in immoral acts. War involves murder—murder that is justified with propaganda, "the expending of powers on the flat ephemeral pamphlet." The bonding experience war brings, "the shared cigarette/... the masculine jokes," are but "makeshift consolations." Nature and the universe are indifferent to humanity's condition, the final stanza concludes: "History to the defeated/ May say Alas but cannot help nor pardon" (*SP* 57). The "defeated" denotes those who have been vanquished by power. In dedicating the last lines of the poem to the defeated and the "dead," the speaker, I suggest, subverts his own rhetoric about the urgency of individual choice and the ethical imperative of collective agency in Spain.

Auden's poem is built on his premise that citizens are democratic equals. In this regard, the point Auden makes about citizenship is quite different from the argument Woolf puts forward. Woolf's work details all the ways that class privilege has come to deny equal access to citizenship rights. Auden, on the other hand, champions the potential power of personal agency, even as he acknowledges how governmental forces conspire, and people can be coaxed, weak and unwitting, into becoming blind instruments of the larger agenda of the state.

Auden would subsequently substantially revise the poem "Spain," retitling it "Spain 1937" for its inclusion in *Another Time* (1940*)*.[37] As previously noted, between 1937 and 1939 Auden returned to many to his poems of the 1930s to limit or expunge their political content. Much later, Auden dismissed "Spain" completely, excluding even its toned-down version from poetry collections published after 1960. Revisions to "Spain" reduced the poem from twenty-six stanzas to twenty-three. Most famously, Auden changed the line "the *conscious* acceptance of guilt in the *necessary murder*" to read "the conscious acceptance of guilt in the *fact of murder*" (emphasis mine). As Mendelson has pointed out, the former line contains a brilliant paradox. In that version, the necessary murder is the terrible consequence of the "unchosen unconscious processes" that propel the people's army to *choose* to join the struggle (as the poetic speaker urges). This particular line drew harsh criticism from George Orwell, who seized on the apparent immorality of "necessary murder," associating it with Stalinist "liquidation": this could only, Orwell claimed, "have been written by a person to whom murder is at most a *word*. Personally I would not speak so lightly of murder.... Mr. Auden's brand of amoralism is only possible if you're the kind of person who is elsewhere when the trigger is pulled."[38] Orwell accused Auden of "a casual justification of murder on the grounds of expedience" (*EA* 321-22) or alternatively, perhaps, on the grounds of having "right" on one's side.

Auden appears to have been chastened by the accusation; this may explain much about his subsequent, profound uneasiness with his role as a partisan poet in time of war. In his preface to the 1966 *Collected Shorter Poems*, Auden pronounced that the final lines of "Spain" (quoted above) effectively linked "goodness" with "success"—in other words, they somehow vindicate what is an abhorrent moral choice: "It would have been bad enough if I had ever held this wicked doctrine, but that I should have stated it simply because it sounded to me rhetorically effective is quite inexcusable" (qtd. *EA* 316). These shifts in Auden's thinking are key to

understanding his changing views on the political power of art, a subject to which I return in the final part of this chapter. As Sean Grass observes, for the critics who found Auden's revised poetry of the 1930s "incomplete or even dishonest, 'Spain' 1937 tantalizes because its revision history ... permits them to construct a more coherent account of Auden's geographic and poetic flight from the European stage" (85). Bonnie Costello and Rachel Galvin, who have studied Auden's unpublished 1939 journal,[39] argue that various entries show Auden worrying about "what use his voice could be against a rising tide of violence" and concerned about "the pull to propaganda in his poetry" (39). Whatever the reasons for Auden's revisions, I agree with Tim Kendall, who defends the ethical complexity of Auden's original line, commenting that "[t]he final version takes a ... step back from courageous complication to blind conviction" (109). The following section explores Auden's reflections on a complex set of correspondences, which he, like Woolf, perceives exist between education and war, citizenship and belonging.

IV. The "Oxbridge" Connection

If Woolf's premise in *Three Guineas* is that the causes of war can be traced to the effects of the gendered and inequitable forms of education young Victorian and Edwardian men and women respectively received at the universities and in the bourgeois family home, Auden drew similar connections. Sean Grass draws attention to "Oxford," which, although largely overlooked by critics, is integral to a proper understanding of Auden's politics and art. "Oxford" was written in December 1937 and first published in the *Listener*, 9 February 1938, less than a year after Auden returned from Spain. It therefore post-dates the initial composition of "Spain," which was written some six months earlier, and pre-dates the later 1939 revisions that resulted in the poem being retitled "Spain, 1937." Edward Mendelson, who has edited most of the standard editions of Auden's works, mentions "Oxford" only in

passing, calling it a "bitter valedictory" to the years the poet spent at the university in the late 1920s (*EA* 333).

Grass concurs with this assessment. In "Oxford," he states, "we find Auden reflecting upon his disappointment in Spain and finally blaming the university for inspiring the political idealism and naïveté that drove ... not only him, but a whole generation of middle class intellectuals to participate eagerly and misguidedly in the Spanish Civil War" (86, 87). Auden's time at Oxford, Grass claims, "seems to have cultivated within him a faith in the ideal, and a firm, if naïve belief in absolute categories of good and evil with clear political referents—Marxism and Fascism—in the real world" (87). Like many young English leftists who came out of the "Oxbridge" university environment, Auden viewed the Spanish Civil War as "an early chance to strike a blow for Marxist solidarity ... against Fascist oppression." The men who volunteered did so "hoping to fight the good fight," only to find once in Spain that the war's political realities (including intrigue and infighting on the Republican side) "bore no resemblance to their expectations" (Grass 86). Grass concludes that Auden's bitterness lay in the realization that the kind of education he received at Oxford utterly failed to prepare him and other young men of his generation for the ruthless, immoral, and physical facts of war.

"Oxford" is about a system of education that Auden may well have believed "misled" the better part of an entire generation of students in idealizing war as "heroic and glorious" rather than exposing it for what it was—"morally bewildering and brutal" (Grass 91). Read from a Foucauldian perspective, however, the poem contains a much darker message. The speaker of the poem is not only bitter about his experience at Oxford and what it has failed to teach him about the real world, but that he is also appalled at what he realizes, in retrospect, is the true nature of that education and the kind of man it produces. He now appreciates—something Woolf vividly understands—that power and knowledge are intricately connected, and that

the man who is the "product" of the education system is, in reality, the *subject* of both knowledge and power.

"Oxford" never explicitly refers to the Spanish Civil War but, as Grass's research shows, a great many of Auden's friends and contemporaries at Oxford volunteered to fight in Spain. Grass underlines the point that the strong leftist sympathies which propelled these men to join the struggle had been cultivated at the university. While, officially, the British government pursued a principle of non-intervention in the Spanish Civil War,[40] this had more to do with an attempt to avoid an escalation of the fighting, and its expansion to other nations, than with any disregard for growing concerns about the rise of totalitarianism in a number of countries in Europe. The British government was always apprehensive about potential threats to its dominion; the political situation on the continent in the thirties fuelled a sudden swell in English anti-Fascist opinion. Despite the fact that the British government declined to engage formally and militarily in Spain, its overriding interest was in seeing Franco and his Falangist forces defeated. The following analysis traces the associations the poem makes between the nation's political agenda and the kind of institutional discourse that flourished in the university. These connections reveal the complicity between power and knowledge that led young men to buy into the fatal proposition—"the certainty inspired by Oxford"—that war, such as the one raging in Spain, "constituted a glorious blow struck against a moral evil" (Grass 88).

"Oxford" opens with the observation that "Nature is so near." This is followed by an image of birds, "rooks," in the college garden which "like agile babies still speak the language of feeling." The line suggests that the students are mere "rookies" in life, with impressionable minds. The speaker's choice of the word "rooks" is intriguing, however, as it conjures the idea of a chess game. With their "agile bodies," the fledgling scholars still have the potential for movement in any direction,

but the insinuation is that they may be merely pawns in a larger strategem. In its archaic form, the verb "rook" means to swindle and a "rook" also denotes a large black crow, the figure of which introduces a menacing atmosphere into a poem whose opening stanza appears to be a simple ode to the bucolic.[41] The malleability of the young scholars is contrasted with the sturdiness and solidity of the rocks that form the architecture of an institution that has stood the test of time: "the stones in that tower, utterly [s]atisfied with their own weight" (*SP* 68). As Grass notes, the title of the poem, "Oxford," recalls two Gerard Manley Hopkins poems dedicated to that famous place, one entitled "To Oxford" (1865), the other, "Duns Scotus's Oxford" (1879). The familiar ring of the title, combined with the pastoral imagery found in the first lines of Auden's poem, leads the reader to believe the poem will be a "quiet elegy" (Grass 93); in fact, the environment which it describes becomes increasingly politically charged.

At Oxford, knowledge is self-serving: "Wisdom honours herself" and the "original stone merely echo[es] that praise." The notion presented is one of inherited, or received, understanding that has been passed down through generations, from "the founder" to a select group, the *crème* of society, people, like the men in the photographs in Woolf's *Three Guineas*, "who worship Success." (Auden's speaker's point-of-view in this passage seems to echo Woolf's scathing commentary on the way in which class privilege, fostered at elite educational institutions, is co-opted in support of a definition of citizenship that confines its political benefits to a favoured few. "Oxbridge" is the subject of Woolf's overt criticism in her novel *Jacob's Room* and—as this chapter will demonstrate—in *The Years*.) To those, the ones described as "the sharp swords," are offered all the glittering prizes, the "cars, the hotels, the service, the boisterous bed"—all the material possessions, wealth, and privileges of power, including the power to "silence outrage" with a will or "testament." Oxford symbolizes blood relations, birthright,

and the principle of inheritance ensuring the continuance of a class-based society in which many have no voice. The horrific violence that underpins and sustains this system, which is based on power and greed, is callous and cold-blooded about the cost—the millions of young men it sacrifices in war: the "widows' tears forgotten, [t]he fatherless unheard" (*SP* 68).

Auden's reference to blood relations is interesting. Foucault suggests that blood ties long remained "an important element in the mechanisms of power, its manifestation, and its rituals":

> For a society in which the systems of alliance, the political form of the sovereign, the differentiation into orders and castes, and the value of descent lines were predominant; for a society in which famine, epidemics and violence made death imminent, blood constituted one of the fundamental values. It owed its high value at the same time to its instrumental role (the ability to shed blood), to the way it functioned in the order of signs (to have a certain blood, to be of the same blood, to be prepared to risk one's blood), and also to its precariousness (easily spilled, subject to drying up, too readily mixed, capable of being quickly corrupted). A society of blood ... of "sanguinuity"—where power spoke through blood: the honor of war, ... [and] the triumph of death ... blood was *a reality with a symbolic function*. (*HS* 147)

In "Oxford," blood symbolizes all these things.

On its surface, the poem seems to contrast Nature's "careless beauty," impassivity, and contentment with Oxford's "nervous students," for whom knowledge, engagement, and ambition hold the apparent keys to success. Nature's happy indifference and self-absorption are characterized as a "sin," one which is also associated with the working classes outside the university's walls, the people in the shop, factories, and "the whole green [envious] country," who "fidget," "poke," spend their money" and are easily contented by a "cigarette" or a "kiss." The sin of

the uneducated masses is that they have been seduced into a kind of easy submission by money and a myriad of other simple, guilty pleasures. "Wisdom," on the other hand, "is a beautiful bird," but the question the poem raises is: where does wisdom lead? Is that privileged boy—"that child" who is entitled to an education thanks to the class into which he was born—is he "happy with his box of lucky books?" The speaker's response is to talk, not about the perks and privileges of an Oxford education, but about the "jokes of learning" into which the "child" is about to be immersed. The "joke" of an Oxford education, as part of a complex collaboration between power and knowledge, is that it leads, not to wisdom, but to war and often to death: "to the wise/ often is it denied/ To be beautiful or good." The innocent, young, starry-eyed student is shown, like *Eros Paidagogos*,[42] to be a lover and a *slave* to knowledge, one who ends up "weep[ing] on his virginal bed." Nature, with whom the child was first associated, is by the penultimate stanza described as being only "almost natural" and also, "thoughtless," which suggests that he has unconsciously become a construction of the discourses of power. Moreover, there is no way out of this trap, the speaker implies. If Nature could "snatch the young man's sorrow to her loving sensual heart," he might be rescued, but having been made a slave to knowledge, he eludes her and she "can only love herself" (*SP* 69).

Perhaps the most compelling argument for a Foucauldian reading of "Oxford" comes in the stanza that Auden removed from the poem after its 1938 publication in the *Listener*. The excised passage, which presents a very cynical view of the outcome of *Eros Paidagogos's* attraction to knowledge, reads as follows:

> And all the lanes of his wish twist down to the grave:
> The lovers poisoned in a fabulous embrace,
> The doomed comrades riding to their known destruction,
>
> The flags like a third sex,
>
> And the music nobilmente.[43] (qtd. Mendelson, *The English Auden* 425)

Not only do these lines intimate the tragic outcome of romance—that the fair young "blue-eyed boy" will be poisoned by his "embrace" of the kind of knowledge Oxford provides—they also suggest that he, in turn, will become embraced by a power larger than himself, one that lures and "doom[s]" him to his "known destruction." The reference to his "comrades" who ride down this path with him might well be an allusion to the Marxist beliefs these men absorbed during their time at Oxford. The poem's final couplet, "The flags like a third sex,/ And the music nobilmente," echoes the concluding lines from Wilfred Owen's famous poetic indictment of those who promulgate war: "Dulce et Decorum Est/ Pro patria mori."[44] It makes explicit the fact that what these boys are really marrying themselves to is the nation, the flag, love of country, and the clarion call to battle, portending death.

In the closing lines of the poem, the speaker evokes the discourse of religion. The "non-attached" or transcendent "angels" weep over the "talkative city," this place where pedagogical discourse reigns, but even among the angels, knowledge, and in particular the knowledge of death, is "a consuming love" and religion is no consolation. In religious discourse, death is glorified as the means to salvation and life everlasting. Such a construction of human experience is highly suspect, but "the natural heart," subjected to power, refuses to recognize or accept that hard truth. Yet, somewhere deep down, the speaker intimates, the "natural heart" knows a different truth about knowledge, that knowledge is a co-conspirator of power and that power subjugates. Such a realization may be unconscious but it is troubling and unrelenting, "the low unflattering voice/ That rests not til it find a hearing" (*SP* 69). Mendelson points out that this line echoes Freud's description of the "voice of the intellect," which is also "soft and low but ... persistent" (*EA* 295). On this level, the poem recognizes the social forces and rational ideologies at work rallying young men to the nation's cause and inducing them to become willing, compliant, unwitting instruments of the state. Oxford groomed these inexperienced men to be ready to

support the national agenda. As Auden shows, and Woolf certainly understood, the education they received there promoted nationalism, protectionism, masculinity, heroism, and love of England, which in turn prompted these impressionable young minds to go out looking for a cause, a cause many of them found—and died for—in Spain.

In *Three Guineas* and "Oxford," Woolf and Auden trace the subjugation of the individual to the gendered character of the education and social training young people received in English, upper-middle class circles in the early twentieth century. Both writers realize that at its root, the process of subjection is directly related to the way in which gender identity is constructed. Masculinity was formulated through standards of confraternity, competition, superiority, and aggression that were instilled in young men by the "constellation of the public school, Oxbridge, the battlefield and the hunt" (Snaith lx). Similarly, an ideal notion of femininity was cultivated through norms of behaviour—modesty, passivity, self-sacrifice, and constraint—that were fostered in young women raised in the private family home. Well in advance of Foucault, Woolf and Auden recognized that gender discourse lies at the heart of the operation of economic and political power. Like Foucault, both writers discern that the discourses of sexuality constitute a means for the exercise of power. Woolf’s and Auden's work demonstrates, not only how individual identities are produced by the discourses of sexuality, but also how lives are thus tied in discourse to broader national and international forces. As Woolf's late fiction shows, the deployment of gendered discourse as a mechanism of control finds its expression in different modes of power relations, from sovereign (or patriarchal) authority backed by the rule of law, to disciplinary processes which feature mechanisms of surveillance and correction, to governmental procedures which work to control populations and balance the economic and political interests of the state. The

following section examines how the lives of a series of characters that populate Woolf's novel *The Years* are instantiated in these various relations of power.

V. The Deployment of Sexuality

Woolf's novel *The Years* traces the effects that gendered discourse had, both on individual lives and upon civilized society as a whole. Presenting itself as a experimental "family saga," the work follows the lives of three generations of Pargiters from "1880" to the "Present Day."[45] Spanning some fifty years, the novel provides a panoramic perspective of a society in transition from the Victorian to the modern age. Significant social and technological changes inscribed in the text attest to the scale of cultural transformation that took place over the course of these years. In Foucauldian terms, this period encompasses an important shift in the functioning of power, as sovereign authority is increasingly absorbed and subsumed by disciplinary forms of control and the major institutional forces of governmentality. Woolf's novel charts these changes on the individual and national level.

The interlude passage that opens the 1918 chapter of *The Years* describes "a veil of mist which covers the November sky": "a many folded veil, so fine-meshed that it made one density." This veil "deaden[s]" any singular or distinct sounds "—the bleat of sheep, the croak of the rooks—". The only sound heard is the "uproar of traffic merged into one growl" (*TY* 212). Like Auden's "leaden sky" in "The Shield of Achilles," this image summons the notion of an oppressive power that quashes autonomy and cultivates a herd mentality. The image is one to which Woolf returns constantly in the final "Present Day" episode of *The Years*. The party, at which the entire Pargiter clan gathers some fifty years after the opening scenes of the novel, is first perceived by those arriving as "a roar of voices ... from behind a door," which sounds as if "a flock of sheep were penned there" (*TY* 256). More than half a century has passed, technological and scientific inventions have revolutionized the world: to

the elder generation, young people seem, "happier ... freer" (*TY* 271)—all are able to do things that were not allowed in the 1880s—yet the reader has the strong underlying impression, throughout the final chapter, that everyone is still trapped and subjected by forces much greater than themselves.

The opening chapter of the novel gives the reader a glimpse of life in a late Victorian family setting: the women are being prepared for marriage and domestic life and men are sent off to boarding school, where they are trained for mastery and primed for war. To the women, "[t]he world outside seem[s] thickly and entirely cut off"; they are bored, "cooped up day after day" with "nothing whatever to do" but wait endlessly for the kettle to boil and for their mother—an emblem of the Victorian era, "an obstacle, a prevention, and impediment to all life"—to die (*TY* 18, 23, 19, 16).[46] As young females, Eleanor, Milly, Delia, and Rose are "pent-up" and always "pretending" (*TY* 60, 61), living in dreams, fantasies, and hopes of marriage. Any personal sense of identity remains stifled and submerged. Sex is something to be kept hidden; something dirty, violent, illicit, or incestuous. Milly and Delia are warned not to be "caught looking" (*TY* 14) at men. A predatory flasher lurks outside; the Colonel has a secret mistress; and he and his brother's wife are rumoured to have had an affair. There are many subjects that cannot be discussed. As Jeri Johnson notes, for the women, this results in a sense of dislocation and a divided self. The conscious and unconscious worlds become blurred: "'Where am I?,'" Delia asks, as her mother is dying (*TY* 18). "'What am I doing? Where am I going'?," their cousin Kitty wonders as she stares at herself in the mirror (*TY* 188). Several of the women experience similar sensations. Maggie thinks, "'What's 'I' ... 'I' ... Am I that, or am I this? Are we one, or are we separate—'" (*TY* 99, 98). Peggy questions, "'Where does she begin and where do I end?'" (*TY* 235), and Eleanor, reflecting on her life, laments, "'I can't find words; I can't tell anybody. ... My life's been other people's lives'" (*TY* 258). Exiled from their selves and subject to men's chauvinist

attitudes, women often perceive themselves as being inferior. Ignored by her father, Milly feels herself "a mousy, downtrodden inefficient little chit" (*TY* 11), while Kitty is told that biology is to blame: "Nature did not intend you to be a scholar, my dear" (*TY* 57). Anna Snaith astutely links this "network of complex emotions and prohibitions" to the incident in which Rose, a young girl excluded from the male school-room, secretly slits her wrist in the bathroom." The powerful forces that "dictate generational and gender dynamics in the home" are compressed "into this one prescient, image of self-harm." Only later in *The Years*, "in the next century," Snaith observes, "can these feelings be articulated" (lvii).

Young men, like the students in Auden's poem "Oxford," are also subjected to training and discipline. Edward's days at Oxford are "parcelled out on the advice of his tutor into hours and half-hours." College life is competitive—"there was the clever little Jew-boy from Birmingham"[47]—and there is enormous pressure to succeed: "His father would be frightfully cut-up if he failed" (*TY* 35). Money and tradition determine the high expectations thrust by fathers onto their sons. Oxford is where Edward's father and grandfather were schooled: "the old boy had insisted upon looking up the rooms that his own father had had when his father was at college"; for motivation, the Colonel sends Edward "a dozen of fine old port." At the university, males bond over conversations that revolve around "pretty girl[s]" and "hunting" (*TY* 37), while homosexual relations are hinted at in only the most oblique fashion. Men at Oxford receive an education in what Snaith refers to as "the bourgeois codes of self-mastery and civility" (lviii). Perhaps even more resonant is Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick's metaphor of "the paths of male entitlement" upon which the young men of Oxford forge their life journeys.[48] Throughout the rest of the novel, Woolf traces the ramifications and repercussions of these sexist, imperialist relations of power which, the text makes clear, are bred in the enclaves of the family home and institutions of masculine authority. The "Present Day" chapter reveals the considerable

consequences that education, upbringing, and social position in life have on three generations of Pargiter family women and men.

Several recurrent and related themes run through *The Years*. One centres on domesticated animals and the other on different kinds of walls, pens, and barriers that either imprison or protect them. These enclosures are particularly prevalent in the "Present Day" segment. Fifty years on, little has changed for the now elder group of Pargiter siblings, their spouses, and cousins. Eleanor thinks of herself as "a parrot in a cage" (*TY* 258) and Milly retains her "dog-like devotion to family (*TY* 262). She and her husband Gibbs, married thirty years, have developed a "half-conscious" back-and-forth patter—"tut-tut-tut, chew-chew-chew"—that sounds like "the half-inarticulate munchings of animals in a stall" (*TY* 263). Delia, whose aim it always was "to do away with the conventions of English life," has married Patrick, who, despite being Irish, is a perfectly conventional citizen—"the most King-respecting, Empire-admiring of country gentlemen" (*TY* 280).

Rose, who in her youth was the real rebel, a militant suffragette who was force-fed in Holloway prison, has now been decorated by her country for patriotic work during the war. Her relationship with her brother Martin is still caught in the same "old-brother-and-sister turn" (*TY* 253). Like Rose, Kitty dreams of rejecting her upbringing and becoming a farmer, but complains, "'in my youth ... that wasn't allowed'" (*TY* 281). She notes that Rose, at least in those days, "'had the courage of her convictions'" whereas she, Kitty, had not. Kitty has instead married into money and taken the title of Lady Lasswade.[49] In this role, she reminds North of "the Viceroy of India." She has become "dictatorial" and "settled" (*TY* 276). Such characterizations are laced with irony. Woolf's point is one she makes forcefully in *Three Guineas*: if women have felt "shut out, ... shut up, because they are women" (*TG* 94), joining men's ranks in an attempt to break the confines of their subjugation, results only in the "prostitut[ion]" of their "intellectual liberty" (*TG* 85).

And how, Woolf's narrator asks, can women be advocates for a just and civilized society, vocal, honest critics of its institutions, if just like their male counterparts, they can be influenced by bribes, decorations, honours, and other political and economic inducements which compromise independence? The only option open to women who seek a genuine voice of their own in public affairs, Woolf suggests, is to refuse altogether the idea of citizenship.

If the choices open to women are severely limited, men also feel trapped. Martin still feels himself bound "to go and do his duty" (*TY* 250). Morris and Edward, who on several occasions struggle to express their private wish that they had been something other than the lawyer and scholar they have respectively become, now seem reconciled to their roles. Fittingly, Edward is described as "an old horse whose bit no longer irks him." Immersed in a world of "creeper-shaded rooms, butlers, ...decanters, and ... fine cigars," he has an "air of being stamped" (*TY* 285).[50] The idea that men, too, have been tamed by the system is tied through a series of images of elephants, to the vast weight of paternalism, colonialism, and empire that bears heavily on all their lives. Milly's husband Hugh looks "like an old elephant who was going to kneel" and never "be able to get up" (*TY* 265). A childhood friend of Eleanor's, now a "great railway magnate," a "perfect man of the world ... with a certain celebrity," displays "the agility of a trained elephant" (*TY* 289). Yet in such supposedly civilized company, males are caricatured as "monsters" and "beasts" (*TY* 274, 278). Hunting and war, money and politics, are the repeated themes of the men's conversation—"politics as usual, money and politics" (*TY* 281). A blurred newspaper picture of a "fat man gesticulating" causes Eleanor to swear: "'Damned—... bully!'" (*TY* 232). The discourses of patriarchy, journalism, economics, and fascism are all implicated in this small series of pictures of power. What it all leads to, Woolf suggests, is pompousness and war.

Many of the younger people in *The Years* attempt to "live differently" (*TY* 297). Their generation's desire to live more consciously, to resist the pull of family, can productively be considered in terms of the person's resistance to subjection and the pull to conformity by the state. The passage of time in the novel does make way for changing relationships: sexual relations are more open, gender relations are more equal, and class and race relations less distant. Nicholas, for instance, is quite candid about his homosexuality; women like Peggy have profitable careers of their own; the old household servant Crosby has been pensioned off; and Sara and Maggie live in a very poor, largely immigrant neighbourhood. Yet despite the more modern attitudes and customs, everyone still seems to experience enormous emotional desire and economic pressure to belong. As family, they all have "something very profound in common" (*TY* 278). They "depended on each other." Fearing rejection, solitude, and loneliness, "all flock together [and] [t]hey love it" (*TY* 279, 234).

Family, however, is also described as "the *conspiracy* ... the steam roller that smooths, obliterates; rounds into identity; rolls into balls" (*TY* 266; emphasis mine). In the final party scene, family is frequently linked with the image of a "net"[51] that is "cast over" everyone, forcing them "[t]o smile, to bend, to make believe [they]'re amused when [they]'re bored"—making them feel dulled and unreal. (*TY* 249, 262-3). Family is associated with convention and conformity. At the party, all the young people fall prey to its trap. Painted and dressed up, the women become predictable, their "lines cut; phrases ready-made" (*TY* 217), but at the same time they are unrecognizable to themselves. Sara has "changed," perhaps the effect of the evening dress "estranging her" (*TY* 245). Men like Renny wear "mask[s]" (*TY* 244). Metaphors of sleep, dizziness, drunkenness—being lulled into complacency, and "drugged ... into comparative insensibility"—add to the sense of loss of self that is necessarily attached to the need to belong. When dinner is announced, everyone

descends the stairs together, *"[t]he younger generation following in the wake of the old"* (*TY* 277; emphasis mine).

Morris's son, North, fights not to be "drawn in" to what he recognizes is a closed society of "Dons and Duchesses, Drabs, and Drones" (*TY* 283-84). Having recently returned from Africa, he is directionless and no longer knows where he fits. "For them," for the older generation, he thinks, "it's alright, ... they've had they're day: but not for him, not for his generation.... Not halls and reverberating megaphones; not marching in step after leaders, in herds, groups, societies, caparisoned" (*TY* 288). Morris's idea of citizenship vividly recalls the photographs of superior men in their pompous processions that Woolf positions so prominently in *Three Guineas*. In an allusion to Conrad, North imagines himself in a jungle, "in the heart of darkness; cutting his way toward the light; ... through the briar-bush of human bodies, human wills and voices that bent over him, binding him, binding him ..."—and always the persistent dilemma of how to "live differently ... differently" (*TY* 289, 297). Two alternatives occur to him: the first, "[n]othing short of revolution.... The idea of dynamite, exploding dumps of heavy earth, shooting earth up in a tree-shaped cloud"—something that comes to him "from the War" (*TY* 264). The other option, he reflects, is "[s]tillness and solitude, ... silence and solitude ... that's the only element in which the mind is free" (*TY* 297). Yet, deep down, North is terrified of being lonely and he knows his sister is right: "he'll tie himself up with a red-lipped girl and become a drudge" (*TY* 278). He feels himself "sinking ... falling under [the family's] weight" (*TY* 264). In the end, he has to admit that, like all the others, he has become quite conventional.

Like her brother, Peggy wishes she could escape but realizes she's "hard; cold; in a groove already" (*TY* 249). She longs to "give up thinking," to "drift and dream"; to block out "the misery of the world [which] forces her to think." She feels "tired": a hoop was bound tight over her head." She tries to "think herself away," but

cannot: "she would force her mind to become a blank ... lie back, and accept quietly, tolerantly, whatever came" (*TY* 273). Despite having rights her aunts never enjoyed, to establish herself in a career and earn an independent living, Peggy, a single doctor, finds herself ensnared in the same system to which men are subject: "In the Middle Ages, she thought, it was the cell; the monastery; now it's the laboratory; the professions; not to live; not to feel; to make money, always money" (*TY* 249). Her vision of society is an Audenesque one of "faces mobbed at the door of a picture palace; apathetic, passive faces; the faces of people drugged with cheap pleasures; who had not even the courage to be themselves, but must dress up, imitate, pretend" (*TY* 273). Although she pictures "not a place but a state of being, in which there was real laughter, real happiness, and this fractured world was whole; whole, and free" (*TY* 274), rationally she knows this is just fantasy. She is part of the society of the duped; "it was useless" to resist. Surrounded by her aunts, whom she perceives as "feet in tight shoes [with] bunions show[ing]," and "knees that straightened themselves, [a] red cloak [that] elongated itself," she rises to follow them: "They all got up, Peggy got up. Yes it was over; it was destroyed she felt" (*TY* 275-76).

Sara Pargiter and her sister Maggie are the characters in the novel that are brought up largely outside of the family and English social conventions. Their mother, Eugénie, is Italian—a passionate, exotic-looking woman with "great dark eyes" (*TY* 84). She, however, is married to Sir Digby, "a distinguished Englishman ...[with] official airs ... top of his tree; a knight and all the rest of it." The couple circulate in the world of "Bigwigs" and "mandarins" (*TY* 88-89). Although she moves with "extraordinary stateliness," Eugénie's manner towards her husband is deferential and subservient. When her daughters beg to hear about their parents' storied romance, she promises, "'I'll tell you the true story one of these days'" (*TY* 100-1). Insinuations that family relations are built on a network of lies are woven

throughout the text. Sara and Maggie have not been formally schooled and they have spent time abroad: "To them the social codes of England are like the peculiar rituals and taboos of an unknown tribe" (Radin 51). Unlike the other side of the family that lives in comparative wealth the girls, following their parents' death, share shabby rooms in a disreputable part of London. Maggie marries Renny, a Frenchman, while Sara has an unconventional relationship outside of traditional marriage with the foreigner, Nicholas ("Brown"), whose real name no one seems to know. Yet, despite their apparent "outsider" status, the novel suggests that, in the end, both Maggie and Sara have become thoroughly enmeshed in the English way of life.

Maggie and Renny are believed to have a "happy marriage," but Renny, while professing to "love peace," makes munitions (shells) for a living and, in North's eyes, he stands "like someone commanding a troop ... so emphatic was his voice, so commanding his gesture" (*TY* 272, 245). At the party, Maggie appears to be in danger of being "suck[ed] ... in" by her aunt and uncle's "long white tentacles" and North is seized by an urge to "carry her off ... [to] save her from the *contamination* of family life" (*TY* 265; emphasis mine). Watching her respond to their greetings "with perfect composure as if using an outfit provided for emergencies," he realizes that "she's as bad as they are ... glazed; insincere." As she talks about her children, North registers the fact that people like Maggie are interested "[o]nly in their own, their own property; their own flesh and blood, which they would protect with the unsheathed claws of the primeval swamp." "'How then can we be civilized?'" he asks (*TY* 266). By intertwining of images of family and fighting, Woolf makes explicit the connections among parents, their progeny, and possessions—and countries, their citizens, and war.

Sara is the person who most steadfastly remains the outsider. Her physical disfiguration sets her apart from others and keeps her socially removed—the artist,

the storyteller, the dreamer. When several family members convene at a political meeting, Sara, sitting looking out the window, remains detached. She pays a price, however, for her independence, in the form of poverty, loneliness, and suicidal thoughts. She has recollections of feeling total despair, standing, looking down at the river: "Running water, flowing water, water that crinkles up the lights" (*TY* 226). In the "Present Day" chapter, Sara describes how she is finally forced out to work because of her disgust at having to share a bath with a Jew, who leaves a line of grease in the tub. Rushing out in a rage, she stands on a bridge and watches the people passing:

> the strutting; the tiptoeing; the pasty; the ferret-eyed; the bowler-hatted, servile innumerable army of workers.... "'Must I join your conspiracy? Stain the hand, the unstained hand,'"... "'—and sign on, and serve a master; all because of a Jew in my bath, all because of a Jew?'" (*TY* 239)

Presenting a formal letter of introduction to her prospective employer, a "stout" man "with the sponge-bag pants" in the newspaper office, a friend of her father's from Oxford, she hears "a humming and a grinding. The great machines went round, and little boys popped in with elongated sheets; black sheets; smudged; damp with printer's ink" (*TY* 240). A complex set of associations in this brief but vivid series of images exposes the working components of the "great machines" of power—the Conradian-like press,[52] which helps manufacture and sustain racist beliefs about foreigners and outsiders; the educational institutions which perpetuate class superiority and foster cronyism; the industrial regimens which suppress individuality, and the political systems, which govern bodies forcing them to submit and conform in the interests of the national agenda. The "humming and grinding" Sara hears symbolize her loss of subjectivity. Tellingly, by the end of the family party, Sara has succumbed to sleep.

Several characters in the novel experience fleeting "moments of vision," inklings of how they might one day inhabit more complete, more fulfilled lives. Nicholas expresses nebulous utopian views about how the world, "'[t]he soul—the whole being'" might evolve "'to form—new combinations?'" (*TY* 208). Anna Snaith reads this as Woolf's way of "cautiously offer[ing]" the possibility of "moments of transcendence," but Snaith carefully qualifies her statement, noting that at no time does the novel "rest easily on notions of gradual progress, or sudden transformation" (xliii). Eleanor Pargiter and her friend Nicholas are the characters in the novel who continually grasp at such potentialities, but neither is ever able fully to articulate her or his thoughts.

Eleanor's life has been deeply affected by her patriarchal upbringing. A single woman who remained home to care for her elderly father, she has been "suppressed," "sacrificed to the family": "My life," she thinks, "I haven't got one" (*TY* 258, 257). Fifty years on, she is constantly loosing things, constantly searching. She spends her time travelling, yearning to see "another kind of civilization" (*TY* 235). "'Is there a pattern; a theme, recurring like music; half remembered, half foreseen? ... A gigantic pattern momentarily perceptible?'" she wonders. "'Atoms danced apart and massed themselves. But how did they compose what people call a life?'" (*TY* 258). Like Nicholas, who is continually interrupted and cannot conclude his speech at the end of the family party, Eleanor can never quite finish her sentences, she cannot "find words" and the vision always eludes her (*TY* 258).

Several times at the party, Eleanor drifts off to sleep, but sleep in the novel is associated with death. Unconscious, she looks "peaceful" and "calm," but there is an element of "obscenity" about the picture: "Her mouth ... open, her head ... on one side" (*TY* 266). Waking, she feels "extraordinarily happy." This sleep, "this momentary trance," leaves her with "nothing but a feeling, a feeling, not a dream" (268):

> There must be another life, she thought, sinking back into the chair exasperated. Not in dreams; but here and now, in this room with living people. She felt as if she were standing on the edge of a precipice; ... she was about to grasp something that just evaded her. There must be another life, here and now, she repeated. This is too short, too broken. We know nothing, even about ourselves.... She hollowed out her hands in her lap. ... It was useless, she thought, opening her hands. It must drop. It must fall. And then? She thought. For her too there would be the endless night, the endless dark. She looked ahead of her as though she saw opening in front of her a very long dark tunnel. But thinking of the dark, something baffled her; in fact it was growing light. The blinds were white. (*TY* 300)

While she has transient perceptions of the possibility of a kind of existence different than the one she is living, the vision she appears to have is one of death. At the end of the novel, Eleanor "open[s] her eyes wide. Here she was; alive; in this room with living people," but at first, she does not recognize her siblings: "they were without identity." Standing by the window, in their "crimsons, golds and silvers," they appear "statuesque ... as if they were carved in stone" and Eleanor is part of their circle. The idea of surrendering to death is what seems to "suffus[e] her with a feeling of happiness. ... An air of ethereal calm lay over everything" (TY 299, 304).

The idea that, one by one, family members are lured into a kind of dark abyss is reinforced in the symbol of "the ink dot with spokes raying out round it" that Eleanor repeatedly draws on her blotting paper (*TY* 64). Each time she doodles, Eleanor unwittingly "dig[s] a little hole" in the centre of the dot (*TY* 124, 258). The image implies an absence of sustainable vision and a hole at the centre of her life; but given its connection in the text to several references to Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* (1899), it can also be understood to signify the darkness that resides at the centre of an ostensibly civilized English society. Family members like Martin, who

"dreads cancer," subconsciously know there is something rotten at the core. Yet, for those including Delia's husband Patrick who believe that "England is the only civilized country in the world," it is very natural to feel superior and entitled (*TY* 250, 280). North recognizes nothing is easier than joining a society, in effect prostituting oneself to power, privilege, and position. Amidst all their bluster, "there's not an idea, not a phrase that would feed a sparrow" (*TY* 284). There is no substance. Milly and her husband Hugh, grown "prosperous" with their several large "Towers" estates, represent this hollowed-out shell of a world in which "men shot, and ... women broke off into innumerable babies" (*TY* 263-4). In the final analysis, North knows, if it comes to a question of "'my' children and 'my' possessions; it would be one rip down the belly; or teeth in the soft fur of the throat" (*TY* 267). Thus, Woolf lifts the veil on the violence that lies at the centre of the patriarchal system, starkly revealing the economic interests that underpin it.

Eleanor's life, and the novel as a whole, can be looked at as a trajectory that parallels Foucault's concept of the deployment of sexuality. Sexuality is something completely suppressed in the opening 1880 scenes. Eleanor and Milly's romantic interests, Delia's sexual fantasies, Edward's homosexual leanings, and Rose's terrifying encounter with a masturbating man, are all things that cannot be spoken about, even in the privacy of the family home. Years later, however, this "ancestral prudery" is beginning to be broken down and characters are able to be more open about such topics: in 1917, Sara, for instance, notes that Nicholas "loves ... —the other sex" (*TY* 230, 208). In the years that have intervened, forms of power have shifted. In Foucauldian terms, sovereignty still exists in the framework of laws, but these have been subsumed by disciplinary measures, which in turn are being absorbed into governmental procedures that invade and control the day-to-day practice of living.

In the novel, sovereignty, or patriarchy, is reified in the Victorian family home and in the image of omnibuses circulating around the statue of Queen Anne who "rules ... with her sceptre" above the steps of St Paul's (*TY* 141). Discipline takes the shape of the commanding but now mysteriously disembodied voice of the gramophone—which at the party seems to be "cutting grooves" in Peggy's mind—and in the signals of the traffic lights "near the Prison Tower" that keep cars circulating, obliging North to shoot forward when the green light signals—GO" (*TY* 217). Rather than laying down the law *per se*—the formal legal boundaries between the permitted and the forbidden—this type of power compels compliance with socially set norms. The way in which the forces of governmentality assume increasing control of people's lives is symbolized by the aeroplanes raining bombs over London during World War I. During a night-time raid in 1917, the family group gathered for Maggie and Renny's dinner party are driven down to the cellar for cover. The danger of the situation limits their freedom of movement and the noise of the planes overhead makes it virtually impossible for them to communicate. In this scene, power is directly associated with the fact of war, a war that can only be understood in terms of broader national and international forces. The aerial perspective of the planes suggests governmental forms of bio-power which, claiming the need to secure the survival of the population, intervene in people's lives all the while marshalling individuals in ways that severely limit their agency, independence, and control.

The Years explores the consequences of a system of education and training in which one comes to be defined by one's sexuality, by gendered norms and expectations of behaviour. It reveals how sexuality subjects and exiles one from any notion of one's self; how it acts as a means of segregation and social hierachization, "guaranteeing relations of domination and the effects of hegemony" (Foucault, *HS* 141). Through the development of characters and the unfolding of events over time,

the novel demonstrates how bio-power fosters and charts people's lives, as the "fact of living" gradually but assuredly "pass[es] into knowledge's field of control and power's sphere of intervention" (Foucault, *HS* 142). By the time of the "Present Day," various members of the elder generation have the impression that life has changed markedly since their youth: "Now," finally, "one can live as one likes" (*TY* 295). Woolf, however, shows this is merely a mirage. What has actually changed is the way in which power functions.

Foucault observes that starting from the end of the nineteenth century, psychoanalysis began to challenge prevailing theories of sexuality that had become solidly grounded in neuropsychiatric theories of degeneracy. As Foucault states: "It is to the political credit of psychoanalysis ... that it regarded with suspicion ... these power mechanisms aimed at controlling and administering the everyday life of sexuality.... Psychoanalysis was ... in theoretical and practical opposition to fascism" (*HS* 150). Psychoanalysis purported to liberate individuals from repression; the freedom and encouragement to talk more openly about one's sexuality was viewed as a way of affirming one's rights against all power. In point of fact, Foucault claims, this was all a grand illusion. Freud did not free sex from repression; rather he gave "new impetus to the secular injunction to study sex and transform it into discourse." The irony of this deployment of sexuality, he concludes "is to have us believe that our own liberation is in the balance" (*HS* 159).

This is also the irony of *The Years*. By the time of the "Present Day" episode, Woolf's characters believe that "'[t]hings have changed for the better, ... we've changed in ourselves, ... [w]e're happier—we're freer'" (*TY* 271). Yet little has, in fact, changed. Laws still discriminate according to gender and sexuality, dictating that even though Kitty is now Lady Lasswade, "nothing of the estate belonged to her: her son would inherit" (*TY* 195). Maggie's marriage to a foreigner means that she is no longer a British citizen and her "children will be French" (*TY* 145). Also in

accordance with existing law, Nicholas "ought to be in prison" because of his homosexuality (*TY* 209). The closing scene of the novel is often interpreted as signalling change and offering hope for the future. Class and sexual barriers appear to be breaking down. Delia brings the children of the caretaker "up from the basement into the drawing room" (*TY* 301) and Eleanor, looking out the window, watches a "lovely" young couple emerge from a cab and, just as the new day is dawning, cross the threshold into their home. The significance of these final moments of the party, however, is at best ambiguous. The children, who are offered cake, are told to "[e]at" what they are served and, like animals chewing their cud, they begin to "munch slowly." They are being "school[ed]" and money is used to bribe them to "sing a song for sixpence." When they do sing, the noise is "horrible ... so shrill, so discordant, and so meaningless.... The contrast between their faces and voices," Eleanor thinks, is "astonishing; it was impossible to find one word for the whole" (*TY* 301-2). The couple in the taxi may seem to be thoroughly modern but they are still ruled by convention: it is the man who gets out first and pays the driver and the "girl ... [who] follow[s] him." He still chivalrously opens the door of the home for her, and she hears a disquieting "little thud" as it shuts behind them (*TY* 305). These are all minor details, but placed in the context of larger themes and images that run throughout the novel, they suggest that Eleanor's final feeling of "extraordinary beauty, simplicity, and peace" may arise simply from a sense of contentment bred in familiarity. Any real prospect, or even faint promise, of new possibility, of a real break with tradition, lies only in the cacophonous sounds coming from the extreme peripheries of Eleanor's social world—the unruly racket that portends the violence of a coming revolution.

VI. Writing Resistance

From the time of the novel's publication, critical reaction to *The Years* has been mixed. In the "Introduction" to the Shakespeare Head edition of *The Years*, David Bradshaw and Ian Blyth note the "long-standing tendency within the academy to underrate [the novel] as an over-long and retrograde exercise in conventional realism." Anna Snaith notes, however, that recently there has been a marked resurgence of interest in *The Years*, spurred by extensive scholarship on the substantial body of holograph material that was generated in the process of composing the novel and *Three Guineas*.[53] Virtually all critics now agree that the persistent lack of resolution in *The Years* was part of Woolf's formal means of writing resistance—part of her project to combat totalitarianism in all its forms—and with this I agree. Some critics, however, interpret the novel's indeterminacy as evidence of Woolf's success in striking the ideal balance between "fact" and "vision" (*E*6 11). My interpretation differs.

Anna Snaith observes, "*The Years* is a quietly revolutionary novel, interested in new ways of living, new forms of social organization, as much as it is about those forces that destroy and inhibit life: war, colonisation, anti-Semitism, homophobia, patriarchy" (xliii). Johnson, meanwhile, argues that the refusal of Woolf's narrative to "cohere into sequence or pattern" re-situates the meaning of her character's lives in "present action and ... future possibility." In other words, in the face of the oppression that fascism and war presage, there are possibilities for resistance. As Johnson explains, "a general pattern emerges in *The Years*, ... marked by a rhythm of repetition and interruption, cohesion and dissolution, coherence and disjunction. The characters repeatedly, if briefly and intermittently, catch hold of a coherent image only to find it inexpressible, or recognize a repeated motif in what appears to be a complex but integrated design, only to have it slip away" (xxvii). This is certainly the case; however, Johnson goes on to assert that "[p]aradoxically, the

uncertainty that comes with [the] dissolution of pattern frees both the present and the future." Within a state of flux, she posits, "characters who remain open to alternative futures—who believe in the necessity of intervening in history to improve society—*do* catch sight of a pattern of possibility which inspirits and encourages them" (xxvi). In the "Present Day" chapter, Johnson claims, Woolf provides brief glimpses of "alternative social formations" that may hold the key to loosening the grip of power and liberating the individual citizen (xxiii). Bradshaw and Blyth go further, arguing that "Woolf's visionary indictment of a soiled and disfigured society" is only half of the story of *The Years*. The other half, they assert, is the "elusive yet characteristic 'tug to vision' that binds the novel together as a successful whole" (xxvi). Such analyses ascribe to Woolf a curious and sudden turn to such ideas as liberty, individualism, and a pre-discursive human subject which are simply not corroborated by a close reading of the novel.

Woolf places the narrative centre of *The Years* within the "limited individualized consciousness" of her characters who view history, not from a distance, but from inside it. Only partially aware of the extent to which their individuality has been compromised and their lives subjected to larger social and political forces, characters struggle to understand how they might live differently, but they can only grasp at fleeting visions of how they might shake off the familial and political bonds that constrain them. Woolf positions her characters' "tug to vision" against the multiple forms of disruption and discontinuity she persistently weaves into her text. Her breaking up of the narrative serves to *minimize* the sense of progression and development, to *resist* moments of vision, wholeness, and unity, and to *preclude* closure. While Woolf's characters may express a yearning for meaning, wholeness, and completion, Woolf's objective in *The Years* is decidedly *not* to seek some sort of ideal resolution. Her impulse was *not* to counter despair for the present with promise for the future, nor was it to oppose fascist oppression with

utopian vision. The final chapter of Woolf's novel bears this premise out. From a Foucauldian perspective, the "Present Day" presents an extremely bleak view of any specific character's prospects of escaping subjection by the structures of power. Any possibility of resistance, if it exists at all, exists strictly in the here and now. In Eleanor's brief moments of perception, there is the realization that "[p]erhaps there's an 'I' at the middle of it, ... a knot, a centre" (*TY* 258). Awareness of one's subject position is key to any hope for change, but the novel shows that so deeply-rooted is the discursive construction of individual identity, it is almost impossible even to discern the existence of the genuine "I" at the centre of one's being.

The other theory around which critical opinion has coalesced is the concept of the "flawed novel"—the idea that the novel flounders under its own weight, sinks under the burden of the vast amount of material Woolf accumulated and attempted to incorporate in her work. Mitchell Leaska, who edited and published the draft of Woolf's novel-essay, *The Pargiters*, is of the opinion is that "[f]act and feeling are in deadly conflict" in Woolf's published novel. Throughout the text, he states, "we come across splinters of memory, fragments of speech, titles of quoted passages left unnamed or forgotten, lines of poetry or remnants of nursery rhymes left dangling in mid-air" (*Pargiters* xv, xviii). Based on a detailed examination of the published work, the galley proofs, and the changes between these and the original holographs, Grace Radin takes the position that the long period of revision that followed Woolf's drafting of her initial manuscript "emphasizes the difficulties of trying to give coherent form to an overflowing mass of material" (34). In its course of transition from essay to novel-essay to novel, so the reasoning goes, Woolf's continual revisions and excisions left a text full of gaps and ambiguities. For many critics, Snaith notes, "the legacy of the novel-essay hangs heavy, providing a paradigm of an internally riven, dichotomous form (xciii). Yet, while *The Years* brims with disruptions and

discontinuities, I contend these are deliberate, an important part of Woolf's project to turn the conventions of realism on their head.

By the time the novel was published, Radin asserts, Woolf had "softened, deleted, or made vague many of her strongest attacks on English society and its treatment of women—and had eliminated most of the overt statements of her own beliefs" (34-5). Radin suggests that this was because somewhere along the way, Woolf felt she had gone too far, had flouted the conventions of what it was possible for a woman and a writer to say. While she is sympathetic to Woolf's project, calling *The Years* a "courageous novel" that "deserves a place as one of [her] great novels" (159, 158), Radin notes the many difficulties the published work presents. Like other critics, she cites Woolf's seeming inability to "solve the problem of unity" (Radin 153). Radin's verdict: the novel "lacks fluidity"; it seeks but fails to find "a philosophy," an "integrated point of view," a "perspective that transcends daily life"; ultimately, it "refus[es] to cohere" (154, 158). Generously, Radin attributes the novel's seeming lack of cohesion to Woolf's "growth as a person and a writer, and to her decision to break the mold of her earlier works, to include more of life in her novels. ... [G]reater openness," Radin concludes, "is responsible for many of [Woolf's] problems with *The Years*" (158). I suggest the opposite; Woolf's revisions were precise and purposeful.

Of particular note is Woolf's treatment of women's bodies and their passions. Passages that deal explicitly with these subjects in the novel-essay, Radin claims, were cut from both *the Years* and *Three Guineas*: Woolf attacks "the tyranny of fascism but only in passing [does she mention] the tyranny of chastity" (Radin 35). Yet, Woolf's depiction of sexuality is very carefully crafted to reflect the way in which the topic of sex was actually treated in the period about which she is writing. It was a time, paradoxically, when militant feminists could flagrantly attack a patriarchal political system, but socially, sexuality remained something that had to be kept very

much under wraps. Woolf's treatment of the topic in *The Years* is extremely delicate, precisely because—despite a gradual trend towards increasing openness about such matters—social taboos and legal prohibitions were still so strong that they prevented the subject from being openly discussed, even in the late 1930's. Veiled allusion was in fact the only safe way these things could be mentioned publicly.

Radin argues that, between the holographs and the published text of *The Years*, one can discern a marked shift from "an explicitly political novel to a gentler study of manners and relationships through the years" (Radin 35). In trying so hard to avoid one-sided polemic, Woolf ends up burying her own political views in "obscurity and circumlocution" (79). In place of the detailed argument about politics, religion, and morality, which was so clearly delineated in earlier holograph versions, the published novel provides only oblique references to the issues of the day. Woolf gives the reader such a broad range of perspectives, presented indirectly in so many scraps and fragments of thoughts and conversations, that the point becomes lost, Radin claims.

It is important to remember that Woolf was attempting a novel of "fact." Truth was her aim but not in the sense of what she dubbed "Edwardian" realism. In her essays on the condition of fiction, most notably "Modern Novels" (1919) and "Character in Fiction" (1924), Woolf argues that the Edwardian novelists (Bennett, Wells, and Galsworthy) were so concerned with fidelity to exterior facts, circumstances, and detail that they failed to grasp or capture the idea that life is actually experienced internally, in the conscious or unconscious perceptions of the mind as it comes into contact with the outside world:

> The mind, exposed to the ordinary course of life receives upon its surface a myriad impressions—trivial, fantastic, evanescent, or engraved with the sharpness of steel From all sides they come, an incessant shower of

> innumerable atoms, composing in their sum what we might venture to call life itself. ("Modern Novels," *E*3, 32)

It is for this reason, Woolf concludes, that modern novelists (those she would later dub the "Georgians") "find their interest more and more in [the] dark region of psychology" ("Modern Novels," *E*3, 35). Although *The Years* takes the form of the family chronicle that was so popular in England and America between the wars,[54] its treatment of the genre is anything but conventional. Woolf uses the form subversively in order to critique what she saw as the arbitrary and dangerous, politically and ideologically constructed norms of the society in which she lived.

Although many of Radin's observations about Woolf's manner of writing are well taken, her conclusions are questionable. Narrative in *The Years* mirrors the transient, erratic, fugitive patterns of people's thoughts. The novel's style is conversational, including innumerable interruptions, diversions, and differing points of view. Scenes open *in medias res* and Woolf makes abundant use of free indirect discourse. The structure of the novel is reverberative rather than causal; musical in form with its preludes and interludes, repeated motifs and refrains. The general mood is impressionistic. The most subtle, passing references carry layers of meaning. As Hermione Lee observes, the social realities of the day are "half-incorporated, always on the margins. Newspapers, press-cuttings, pronouncements, inscriptions on monuments and statues ...speeches ... all mix with the half-heard street noises that fill the novel ("Introduction" xxiv). Political issues come into perspective primarily through the many undercurrent themes that run throughout the text.

As Margaret Comstock suggests, "the lack of a centre or central figure" in *The Years*, "around which subordinate elements are arranged," is "an expression of Woolf's rejection of a hierarchical, tyrannical social structure." From this point of view, Comstock states, "*The Years* may be said to be written on aesthetic principles

that are the opposite of fascist" (254). Taking this one step further, the novel's lack of formal resolution, and the absence of a strong authorial voice, are part of the same deliberate open-endedness and ambiguity that Woolf was determined, for pointed political purposes, to create. An ending that affirmed traditional notions of progress, a tidy resolution of issues, or a final moment of revelation would have run contrary to her objectives. Woolf's work subjects such narratives to withering critique. Her investigations of human subjectivity lead her to conclude that the individual is constructed in discourse. Woolf's use of multiple literary techniques to resist closure simulates the workings of the invisible network of interlocking discourses that power invents to sustain people's subjection. The continual difficulties characters confront in their efforts to communicate can be seen to symbolize their lack of awareness of their subjectedness. Characters in *The Years* are depicted as subjects constituted and bound by an imbrication of power and knowledge. Woolf's form is thus completely consistent with her message.

VII. Citizens and Artists in Time of War

Nationalism and war play a significant role in Auden's poems of the 1930s. It is interesting to follow the trajectory of Auden's engagement with these themes, starting with his poem "A Summer Night" (written in June 1933 at the Downs School in England, where Auden was teaching at the time) and ending with "September 1, 1939" (which Auden wrote from the United States just following the Nazi invasion of Poland and the commencement of World War II). During this period, Auden's work dealt with three different wars. In addition to his famous poem on the Spanish Civil War (1936—1939), Auden covered the Sino-Japanese War (1937—1945),[55] and composed texts that deal with the calamity of World War II (1939—1945). The central preoccupation of Auden's poetry composed in time of war is the role of the citizen and the artist in time of national and international crisis. As the 1 September

1939 diary entry reads: "There must always be a conflict between the loyalty necessary for society to be and the intelligence necessary for society to become. The Acceptor and the Accuser" (qtd. Galvin 31). While ordinary citizens bind and are bound by the nation, the writer, Auden believed, "must serve as a goad ('the Accuser') to his community's broader social and political conscious" (Galvin 33). This section focuses on a selection of Auden's poems that had particular significance in the British and European context of the late 1930s. The recurring subtext of each of these poems is Auden's persistent question regarding the nature of the artist's role when the world seems bent on going to war.

"A Summer Night"[56] deals with a personal experience that Auden had sitting out on the school lawn with some colleagues one warm June evening in 1933. Auden himself later described the event as a kind of vision, like "The Vision of Agape" (a vision of maturity; a vision of mutual love among equals),[57] which involved "a mystical sense of communal awareness" (qtd. Fuller 149). The poem imparts a sense of peace and egalitarianism. The light is "dove-like" as the speaker sits "equal with colleagues" in a ring: "The lion griefs loped from the shade/ And on our knees their muzzles laid,/ And Death put down his book" (*SP* 31). The poem is divided, however, into two halves, and its thematic movement is from the private to the public realm. The second half reveals that the vision is, at least in part, based on the willful ignorance of this closed and isolated circle of friends who "do not care to know,/ Where Poland draws her Eastern bow,/ What violence is done" or what underlying injustices make possible their "freedom in this English house" (*SP* 31-32). A sense of barriers about to be breached pervades as "[t]he creepered wall" hides the wretched "multitudes" gathering outside, and the speaker recognizes that "[s]oon through the dykes of our content/ The crumpling flood will force a rent" (*SP* 32). Yet, the poem expresses hope that the vision may ultimately have the power, like the rainbow covenant, to "forgive the murderer" and "calm/ The pulse of nervous nations" (*SP*

33). As Mendelson notes, soon after Auden completed this poem, "his private moment of visionary unity" began to recede and "the public agonies of European war grew ever more threatening" (*EA* 181).

The poem "Look, Stranger,"[58] written in November, 1935, is lyrical in tone. It invites a dispassionate observer to look "at this island now," to admire Britain and witness its delights from the vantage of the cliffs of Dover. As Allan Rodway has observed, the "leaping light" in the opening lines "suggests the spotlight of a theatre and the dis-covering rising of the curtain" (*A Preface to Auden* 113). The language and imagery that begin to emerge in the second and third stanzas undercut the romantic quality of the poem as a whole. The island's seemingly "silent" and "stable" solidity is countered by the "swaying sound of the sea," whose tides cause the "shingles [to] scrambl[e] after the sucking surf" and the cliff's "chalk wall" to fall "to the foam" (*SP* 43-44). Meanwhile, in an allusion to imperial dominion, the "ships" of the British fleet fan out across the globe, like "floating seeds ... on urgent voluntary errands" (*SP* 44). Read in Foucauldian terms, the contradictions in this line set compelling acts of coercive power against unconscious acts of willing submission. It is only in retrospect, however, the poem concludes, that the full significance of the picture can be understood.

The technique of combining seemingly incongruous elements within the same sentence or stanza is characteristic of what Galvin terms "Auden's juxtapositional structure of thought" (Costello 30). (A similar observation might be made regarding Woolf's writing, which is characteristically paratactic in style.[59]) Stan Smith notes that Auden himself described this tendency in his writing as part of "the psychological conflict between self as subject and self as object" (*Prose* I, 4). As Smith observes, "in the duplicity of the text's many voices, [Auden inscribes] the crisis of a consciousness belatedly recognising its own contradictory subject-position, as simultaneously patient, carrier and agent of power-relations that originate outside

but penetrate every aspect of the self" ("Introduction" 9). These disturbing ambiguities dealing with subject's relationship to power appear with increasing frequency in Auden's work of this period.

"In Memory of W. B. Yeats" (1939) uses the occasion of Yeats's death to meditate on the citizen's relation to his country and the artist's relation to society. Auden notes that the poet was shaped by his nation ("mad Ireland hurt you into poetry"), yet when he dies, his body is no more than a hollowed-out shell: "Let the Irish vessel lie/ Emptied of its poetry" (*SP* 90). In this oblique reference to Westminster Abbey's Tomb of the Unknown Warrior, Auden connects Yeats's death with the act of sacrifice of life in war. Yeats's passing goes virtually unnoticed:

> ... in the importance and noise of tomorrow
> When the brokers are roaring like beasts on the floor of the Bourse,
> And the poor have the sufferings to which they are fairly accustomed,
> And *each in the cell of himself is almost convinced of his freedom*.
> (*SP* 89; emphasis mine)

In an often-quoted line, Auden makes the claim that, while "[i]n the nightmare of the dark/ All the dogs of Europe bark,/ And the living nations wait,/ Each sequestered in its hate; ... poetry makes nothing happen" (*SP* 89). There is good reason for the speaker to feel despondent about the ineffectual nature of the artistic enterprise: some of the most impassioned and moving poetry dealing with war in the twentieth century did not prevent the Irish civil war, the vicious conflict in Spain, or the brutalities of World War I, nor would it forestall the aggression of nations, the hatred, violence, and belligerence that would culminate in World War II. Yet despite his emphatic assertion that poetry has no direct impact on the steamroller of human events, the speaker describes poetry as something that "survives,/ A way of happening, a mouth" (SP 89). In this arresting metaphor, Auden rescues poetry, ascribing it a meaningful role in spite of its failure to halt the atrocities of war. A

"mouth" is a synechdoche for an individual human being, a person with a voice, capable of commenting, criticizing, and articulating a unique point-of-view. Poetry thus becomes a vehicle for opinion, a forum for questioning, expression, and engagement, "a way of happening." In this respect, it survives; it takes on a life and agency of its own. It becomes a possible means of resistance and even liberation for the artist and the citizen. Auden's speaker ends by urging the poet "[in] the *prison* of his days" to "[t]each the *free* man how to praise" (*SP* 91; emphasis mine).

Patrick Deer argues that just as the state makes demands on its citizens, "society makes demands on expert practitioners of language":

> Like Yeats's, Auden's poetic voice is implicated, living out a privileged relationship to language, all too aware of its capacity to manipulate and sway emotion.... Poetry might make nothing happen, but the stakes [are] extremely high, because "language" also includes wider uses of words by the official culture, mobilized in the service of a "political religion" anxious to make *something* happen, as opposed to the narrower sense of "poetry" as an autonomous, non-instrumental literary discourse. Auden's elegy for Yeats makes clear that the poet, like the citizen, must grapple with the contradiction between these two seemingly incompatible uses of language. (151)

Interestingly, Foucault makes a related point when he notes that discourse must not be seen as divided between "accepted discourse and excluded discourse, or between the dominant discourse and the dominated one" (*HS* 100). Rather, discourse "transmits and produces power; it reinforces it," but it also has the capacity to "undermin[e] and expos[e] it, rend[er] it fragile and mak[e] it possible to thwart it" (*HS* 101). Most importantly, "'reverse' discourse" often works with the "same vocabulary" employed by the dominant discourse it utilizes the same language in

new and different ways as a means of resistance (*HS* 101). Auden's poetry does this very effectively.

Another Auden poem that satirically elegizes the "Unknown Soldier" is ironically titled "The Unknown Citizen" (1940). Words on the "Marble Monument ... Erected by the State" indicate that the poem is dedicated to the memory of an unnamed person, referred to simply as "Js/07/m/378". Although the poem is written in rhyming couplets, their pattern is not traditional, heroic, iambic pentameter, but rather, long, dry, multi-syllabic lines that lend a pedantic feel to the poem's lengthy catalogue of the man's characteristics and conduct in life. The poem is suggestive of Foucault's later descriptions of the twentieth-century regime of bio-power, in which agencies of the state meticulously manage all aspects of life cradle to grave. The speaker skillfully links the numerous discourses of authority—"the Bureau of Statistics," the "factory," his employer, the "Union," the "Social Psychology Workers," the "Press," the "hospital," the "researchers into Public Opinion," the "Eugenist," and the man's "teachers"—to the multiple tentacles of one great bureaucracy run by the state. All the activities of these departments are directed to the service of "the Greater Community." In this environment, the "unknown citizen" of the poem's title is praised, from the state's perspective, because he is "sensible," "because he caused no trouble," because "his reaction to advertisements were *normal* in every way," and because "he held the proper opinions": "When there was peace, he was for the peace; when there was war, he went" (*SP* 93; emphasis mine). The poem, however, closes with rhetorical questions: "Was he free? Was he happy?"—suggesting that despite all the governmental data and statistical analysis of the population, something of the man's inner personality and life has been lost.

"September 1, 1939" is perhaps one of Auden's most penetrating explorations of the relationships among politics, power, and poetics. This well-known text[60] wrestles with conflicts between the individual and the collective, the subject and

power, alternating throughout between hope and despair regarding the ordinary citizen's capacity for resistance and the artist's prospects for effective intervention. Sitting in "one of the dives on Fifty-Second Street," the speaker admits to feelings of fear and uncertainty as the "clever hopes ... [o]f a low dishonest decade" expire. "[E]nlightenment" is driven away by "habit-forming pain" as society seems to continually repeat its mistakes (*SP* 95). The non-descript citizens, the nameless "dense commuters" and "[f]aces along the bar ... [c]ling to their average day" as "conventions conspire" to make them feel at home, lest they realize where they really are: "[l]ost in a haunted wood." In this milieu, "blind skyscrapers use/ Their full height to proclaim/ The strength of Collective Man," and "Important Persons shout" the "windiest militant trash," and "helpless governors wake/ To resume their compulsory game" (*SP* 96-7). The speaker asks: "'Who can release them now,/ Who can reach the deaf,/ Who can speak for the dumb?'" It is all language and lies, the poem implies. Into "language," Authority "pours its vain/ Competitive excuse," but those who are taken in by the "euphoric dream[s]" it conjures cannot "live for long" without staring "[o]ut of the mirror" into "Imperialism's Face/ And the International wrong" (*SP* 96). All that the poet has, in the end, "is a voice/ To undo the folded lie" —the lie that exists on both sides: there is the "romantic lie in the brain/ Of the sensual man-in-the-street," as well as "the lie of Authority/ Whose buildings grope the sky"—and both lies must be contested (*SP* 97).[61] In Foucauldian fashion, the speaker seems to conclude that the role of the writer is to use language to unmask alternative truths.

Many critics have commented on Auden's facility with diverse poetic forms. Mendelson points out that, for Auden, literary tradition never grows old. He "adopted traditional forms" and "enlarged the genres ... restoring to literary language the content and manner of historical analysis, public oratory, moral philosophy, social and literary criticism, even gossip ... [giving it] an encyclopedic fullness of subject

matter and style; yet [he] never pretended that what [he] wrote was sufficient unto itself or that it gave order to the world" (Mendelson *EA*, "Introduction" xxi). Auden does not write like his predecessors. His work does not exhibit "the high Modernist impulse" of poets like T. S. Eliot, who "valued the selective discriminations of artistic process above the inclusive confusion of what Henry James dismissed as 'clumsy Life ... at her stupid work'" (Sharpe *Auden*, 15),[62] nor, as Mendelson puts it, does Auden write "in tones of imaginative superiority and regretful isolation." Instead, his poems speak instead in "the voice of a citizen ... the voice of a unique individual who does not imagine that his uniqueness makes him more noble, more depraved, or more interesting than anyone else (*EA* xvii).

Poems make meaning through their form, and for Auden the challenge was always technical. Auden is concerned with the ways in which genre or conventional form manages words and emotions; for example, how a lyric presents a sustained process of observation and contemplation in an attempt to resolve an emotional problem; how a sonnet (or sonnet cycle) explores the various aspects of a love relationship; or how an elegy meditates on grief and offers consolation, whether religiously or aesthetically or both. For Auden, formal demands serve a creative purpose: a structured framework can be used to surprise, or to subvert expectations. Conventional responses can be unsettled, authority challenged. As Seamus Perry points out, Auden is the "master of unclenched endings." These are "the beautifully managed near-rhymes that bring [a poem] to an open-ended close" (*Auden's Forms* 377). Employing such techniques, the poet defies readers' expectations of resolution. Like Woolf's, Auden's work is marked by openness, indeterminacy, and a refusal of summation. John Lucas observes that "radical political thinking goes hand-in-hand with consideration of formal radicalism. Hence Auden's ceaseless ranging amongst forms and poetic mannerisms" (*Auden's Politics* 155). As Auden himself declared, "Blessed be all metrical rules that forbid automatic responses, force us to have

second thoughts,/ free from the fetters of the Self" (qtd. Perry 370).[63] Auden uses form and genre to reflect on the role of art and the artist in society. Typically, Auden's poetry contains a vast range of subjects, styles, and different perspectives. It is sometimes serious and elevated in tone, but it also not afraid to be common or crude. Subject matter consists of a collage of discourses that draw from a myriad of sources, moving easily between "the trivial [and] the momentous," the individual and the collective, and between "local and global concerns" (Costello 30).

Nicholas Jenkins draws special attention to Auden's critique of nationalism. In analyzing some of the poems Auden wrote shortly after he left England and moved to America ("In Memory of W. B. Yeats," "The Unknown Citizen," and "September 1, 1939"), Jenkins notes a conscious effort on Auden's part to leave behind the specifically English national identity he had formerly cultivated. Following his arrival in America, Jenkins shows, Auden consistently begins to incorporate "non-English" techniques, "unfamiliar and defamiliarizing forms into his poetry: Ogden Nash-style light verse, ... the long, breath-based Whitmanian line in the first part of the Yeat's elegy, the free verse in its middle section.... [These poems] deploy an awareness of form precisely to position [themselves] outside easy stylistic or generic definitions" (43, 44). Living in New York in 1939, Auden made the following observation: "America is the place because nationalities don't mean anything here, there are only human beings and that's how the future must be."[64] Jenkins suggests that as a result of this belief, "Auden's lyrics of the time are no longer 'English' poems. But they are not 'American' either. They exemplify instead a new kind of hybrid 'mid-Atlantic' style Auden was feeling toward, an in-between of voices and forms that would refuse identification with a single poetic culture or nation" (43). This trend in Auden's poetry is evidence both of his rejection of the ideas of nation and nationalism and his refusal to become an instrument of the state. Mendelson sums it up well: "Auden resisted the characteristic tendency of his time to perceive human beings as the product of

collective instinctive, archetypal forces, rather than individuals who think, choose, and feel" (*SP* "Introduction" xv).

Woolf also refuses to think in terms of nation and national boundaries. Her critique of citizenship leads to the radical conclusion that the only effective way for women to acquire a meaningful voice in promoting "liberty, equality, and peace" is to work "outside ... society, not within" (*TG* 97). Her proposal in *Three Guineas* that women found an "anonymous and elastic ... Society of Outsiders" (*TG* 100) resists the very idea of the nation. In Woolf's view, it is the nation, "within whose mystic boundaries, human beings are penned, rigidly, separately, artificially," where women, locked in the private house, have long been barred from full participatory rights. It is also where men, taught to feel superior, "daubed red and gold, decorated like ... savage[s] with feathers," go through "mystic rites" and enjoy "the dubious pleasures of power and dominion" (*TG* 96-7). Fighting from within the system is not an option, for as Woolf's work reveals, this is precisely where, in a complex network of social and institutional settings, national ideology is formed and outlook determined. The inducements to conform to expectations are powerful but the cost of acquiescence to societal norms is the forfeiture of intellectual liberty. Woolf rejects all special privileges and corrupting influences that she believes are directly linked with possessive, paternalistic attitudes, protectionist zeal, and a proclivity towards war. Embracing the courage of her convictions,[65] Woolf adopts an adamantly independent and pacifist stance. *Three Guineas* was written and published at a time when Hitler was ominously gaining power, England faced the possibility of attack, and across the nation people were gripped by a swelling sense of patriotic duty. In such a context, Woolf's impassioned anti-national, anti-war argument, which ran directly contrary to popular public opinion, was a highly principled and provocative position to take.

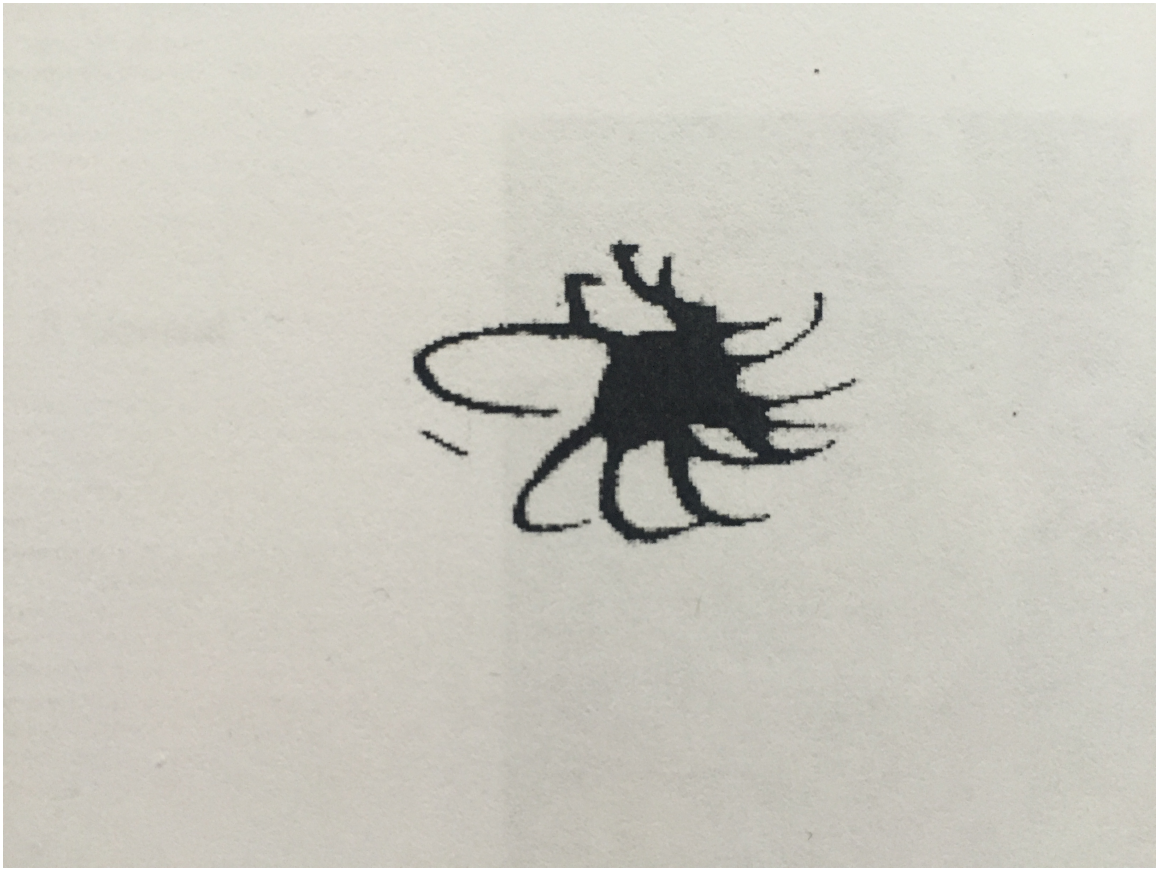
VIII. Conclusion

In Foucault's thinking, everyone is subjugated in discourse. There are, however, are various possibilities for resistance. The first step involves revealing the complex operations of power. Secondly, if discourse provides the means for social control, it makes the formation of "reverse discourse" equally possible. "Discourse," Foucault states, "can be both an instrument and an effect of power, but also ... a point of resistance and a starting point for an opposing strategy" (*HS* 101). Power is exercised through multiple series of "unbalanced, heterogeneous, unstable, and tense force relations" and it can be challenged, at different times, at any of these points (*HS* 93). One of the keys to resistance, Foucault insists, is using language to reverse the existing formulae of discourse: "[d]iscourses are not once and for all subservient to power" (*HS* 100-1). Woolf's and Auden's writings show that they share this same deep conviction. Both authors designate power relations as their field of critique. In their writing, both *expose* and *oppose* the functioning of power on multiple different fronts.

Auden declares that "poetry makes nothing happen"; Woolf, similarly claims that "writing" makes "no noise" (qtd. Black "Introduction" xx). Yet, the continual effort each put into revising and editing their manuscript drafts (in Auden's case, even his published texts), indicates they believed and acted otherwise. Both writers are convinced that art does have a crucial social and political role to play. Both wrestle with difficult ethical questions: what is the responsibility of the citizen in time of war and what is the meaning of citizenship in terms of individual responsibility to the collective? Woolf asks, how do we prevent war and what is appropriate activism for a pacifist? Auden asks, what is the correct ethical response to human suffering and oppression? Delving into these issues gave Woolf and Auden a deeper appreciation of the workings of power, a better understanding of subjection, the material effects of war, and the implications of commitment to ideology.

In advance of Foucault, Woolf and Auden identify that nations and national loyalties are constructs of power. Their writings affirm that rights should be understood outside of the national frame. Both writers reject the concept of national citizenship. Woolf wanted "no country," and Auden renounced his. For Woolf, it was intellectual liberty that was important—liberty to be a disinterested political critic, free of potential sources of corruption. For Auden, it was neither pacifist leanings nor disillusionment as a result of the realities of war that caused him to repudiate his citizenship, but rather a growing recognition of the real dangers of ideological and collective commitment. For both, the decision was a refusal to fall into the nationalist trap. Yet, although Woolf and Auden argue that national boundaries are merely "chalk" lines on a map, and that it is important always to trespass,[66] they also acknowledge, as Woolf puts it, that smashing barriers in an attempt to simplify, would only make for a "rice pudding world ... a world that was all one jelly" (*TY* 288). Auden, likewise, though he "dreamed for a time of a perfect society ... woke to the recognition that an ideal order imposed on a recalcitrant citizenry ... would be an arid depotism" (Mendelson, *EA* xxi). Such statements evince the subtlety and complexity of Woolf’s and Auden's understandings of power and of the effectiveness of strategies to fight it. Neither Woolf nor Auden imagine that there is, in Foucault's words, "on one side, a discourse of power, and opposite it, another discourse that runs counter to it" (101). Both mount a multi-faceted critique of power in which political and formal resistance are inextricably linked. While bringing depth to their respective analyses of power, their multi-dimensional experimentation with literary form is integral to Woolf’s and Auden's struggles to resist totalitarianism.

FIGURE 1:



Doodle used as a section header

in the holograph drafts of *The Pargiters*

FIGURE 2-1:

A General

FIGURE 2-2:

Heralds

FIGURE 2-3:

A university procession

FIGURE 2-4:

A Judge

FIGURE 2-5:

An Archbishop

Endnotes

[1] On 21 January 1933, Woolf wrote in her diary, "I'm afraid of the didactic" (*D*4 145). The typescript of her speech "Professions for Women" provides further evidence of her concern: "The moment I become heroic the moment I dash my imagination against an obstacle; it shrivels up and hardens. I become a preacher, not a writer.... I become hard and shrill and positive.... in short I cease to be a writer" (PFW 13-14).

[2] Foucault explores the concept of governmentality in *History of Sexuality*, *Volume I: An Introduction*, originally published in France as *La Volunté de Savoir* (Paris: Editions Gallimard, 1976), and also in lectures which he gave at the Collège de France from the 1970s to 1984. See also Burchell et al., *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality*.

[3] *The Criminal Law Amendment Act* (1885), which came into effect 1 January 1886, was an Act of Parliament of the United Kingdom. It was intended primarily to protect women and girls and to supress brothels, but a last-minute amendment, known as the "Labouchere Amendment 1885" recriminalized male homosexuality by making "gross indecency" (sodomy) a crime punishable by two years of imprisonment. While the bill outlawed male homosexual activity, it ignored lesbian activity. (An apocryphal account attributes the omission to Queen Victoria's belief that lesbianism did not exist). The 1885 amendment takes its name from Henri Labouchere (an old Etonian, nephew of a Lord, and the editor of the weekly newspaper *Truth*), who saw it as his mission to expose scandal in high places. His newspaper was sued several times for libel. The 1885 legislation was amended by *The Sexual Offenses Act 1967*, which partially decriminalized homosexual behaviour in England and Wales (Scotland, in 1980, and Northern Ireland, 1982). Some provisions, however, remained on the statute books until they were finally overturned by *The Sexual Offenses Act 2003*. (For a detailed history of this legislation, starting with *The*

Buggery Act of 1533, see Larry Houston, "Homosexuality in Great Britain," Sections One, Two, and Three, at: www.banap.net.

[4] See, in particular, Lee, 341-4.

[5] See, in particular, two works which deal with this topic in depth: Samuel Hynes, *The Auden Generation*, and Valentine Cunningham, *British Writers of the Thirties*.

[6] Benito Mussolini (1883—1945) was the Italian fascist leader who formed an alliance with Adolph Hitler's National Socialist (Nazi) Party in Germany. Known as *Il Duce*, Mussolini came to power in Italy in 1922 and set up a legal dictatorship in 1925. His power-grab and insistence on the inferiority of women (mentioned, significantly, in *A Room of One's Own*) was a touchstone for Woolf and an important part of the argument she goes on to develop in *Three Guineas*. See *AROO*, 32.

[7] The Great Depression and ensuing massive unemployment were the causes of a series of hunger marches in Britain in the 1930s. The marches involved groups of men and women who walked from areas of high unemployment to London, where they gathered outside parliament to protest. The largest of these, the Hunger March of September—October 1932, which started in Scotland, grew to more than 100,000 people, and ended in a riot in Hyde Park. Protestors were baton-charged by police. See Sharpe, *Auden*, 24.

[8] Woolf's essay "The Leaning Tower" was based on a paper she read to a meeting of the Workers' Educational Association, in Brighton, 27 May 1940. The paper was subsequently revised and published by the Hogarth Press in the autumn of that year. "Primarily addressed to a working-class audience 'The Leaning Tower' contains a forthright discussion of how the strict delineations of British class structures and the exclusivity of Britain's public schools and universities have shaped the development of English Literature" (Wood 120).

[9] The Nazis held annual party conventions or rallies from 1923 to 1939; initially in Munich, but as of 1927, in Nuremberg. In 1935, the "Rally of Freedom"

(*Reichsparteitag der Freiheit*) marked the reintroduction of compulsory military service (and thus the refusal to honour the terms of the Treaty of Versailles). Leni Riefenstahl filmed the event (*Tag der Freitheit: Unsere Wehrmacht*).

[10] The phrase "the dangerous flood of history" is taken from Auden's poem "To a Writer on his Birthday" (otherwise known as "August for the People") written for his friend Christopher Isherwood. First published in *New Verse* 17 (Oct-Nov. 1935).

[11] In England, many properties were governed by the law of entail, whereby an interest in property was bound up inalienably in the person to whom it was granted and forever to his direct descendants (usually the eldest male son). This law was designed to keep estates undivided and within the family, but it also prevented women from inheriting property. See Ch. 1, n. 18 and Ch. 3, n. 25 regarding education laws in Britain, in particular, women's rights to an education.

[12] *British Nationality Act*, 1948 c. 56.

[13] See, in particular, Hynes, 349-53; Mendelson, *SP* "Introduction," xxvii-xxix; and Sharpe, *Auden* 94-5.

[14] Julian Bell (4 February 1908–18 July 1937) arrived in Spain in June 1937. He worked as an ambulance driver for approximately one month before he was killed by a shell in the Battle of Brunete (6–25 July 1937), an important offensive by the Republican Army and the International Brigades fought in the town of Brunete, fifteen miles outside of Madrid. Despite early successes, the Republicans were forced to retreat, suffering terrible losses.

[15] Frances Spalding notes that, shortly after her nephew Julian Bell's departed for Spain in 1937, Woolf was among a group of artists, writers, and performers who supported an event at the Royal Albert Hall, organized by the National Joint Committee for Spanish Relief. The purpose of the event was to raise money for Basque refugee children, many of whom had been orphaned in the conflict. This was not the only time Woolf was involved in supporting the Spanish cause. Spalding finds

Woolf listed among the sponsors and patrons who helped bring Pablo Picasso's painting *Guernica*, and sixty-seven preliminary studies for it, to Britain in September 1938. *Guernica* was exhibited at the New Burlington Galleries in London, 4 October–29 October 1938. See Frances Spalding, *Virginia Woolf: Art, Life and Vision* (London: National Portrait Gallery Publications, 2014), 155.

[16] Woolf's essay "Why Art Follows Politics" (1936) was reprinted in *The Essays of Virginia Woolf*, Vol. 6: 1933-1941, ed. Stuart N. Clark (London: Hogarth Press 2011) and as "The Artist and Politics" in *The Moment and Other Essays*, ed. Leonard Woolf (London: Hogarth Press, 1947; and New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1967). It was also printed in *Collected Essays*, ed. Leonard Woolf, Vols. 1-2 (London: Hogarth, 1966; New York: Harcourt, 1967); and *in The Crowded Dance of Modern Life (Selected Essays): Volume 2*, ed. Rachel Bowlby (London: Penguin Books, 1993).

[17] Woolf is paraphrasing Matthew Arnold, "Stanzas from the Grande Chartreuse": wandering "between two worlds, one dead/ The other powerless to be born."

[18] This phrase comes from Auden's poem "August for the People." See n. 10 above.

[19] Woolf's "Letter to A Young Poet" was ostensibly written to John Lehmann, manager of the Hogarth Press. Lehmann arrived at Hogarth Press on 10 January 1931 and worked with the Woolfs for approximately one year. He officially became a managing partner in January 1938 (Lee 705); Auden was a member of the advisory board. Lehmann's first collection of poetry, *A Garden Revisited*, was published by Hogarth in 1931 (Wood 115). "Letter to A Young Poet" is an informal letter written by an older "prose writer" to poets of the newer generation. First published as part of the *Hogarth Letters Series* as a prose pamphlet in 1932. Woolf's "primary subject and imagined audience are the leftist 'leaning-tower' generation of the 1930s whose poetry [Woolf] finds self-absorbed in outlook. ... [T]his public letter/essay opens out to address simultaneously three further poets whose poems Woolf cites and critiques through the course of her discussion; W. H. Auden, Cecil Day-Lewis, and Stephen

Spender. Although their names remain absent, by quoting from them Woolf directs her analysis to all four poets and their imitators" (Wood 115).

[20] The London and National Society for Women's Service (LNSWS) was a feminist organization, the aim of which was to improve the economic position of women by increasing their employment opportunities. Anna Snaith's research shows that the LNSWS was "a direct descendant of the first women's suffrage committee (the London and National Society for Women's Suffrage) formed in 1867." For further details, see Snaith "Introduction," xlvii-xlviii. As Snaith notes, an abbreviated version of Woolf's speech to this organization was published posthumously as "Professions for Women" in *Death of the Moth and Other Essays*.

[21] Hysteria was a classic disease of the nineteenth century, which in colloquial use described ungovernable emotional excess. Until the late nineteenth century, the condition was believed to be caused by disturbances of the uterus, hence peculiar to women. The work of French neurologist Jean-Martin Charcot (1825–93) advanced a more modern understanding of hysteria as a psychological disorder. In the early 1890s, Freud published a series of articles on hysteria, which popularized Charcot's work and introduced his own views on the subject. As it developed, Freudian psychoanalytic theory attributed hysterical symptoms to the unconscious mind's attempt to protect the patient from psychic distress. For additional information see: Sander Gilman, Roy Porter, George Rousseau, Elaine Showalter, and Helen King, *Hysteria Beyond Freud* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and Oxford: U of California Press, 1993).

[22] The image of the black dot with lines raying out round it recurs several times in *The Years*. See Bradshaw and Blyth, 64, 124, and 258. In her "Introduction" to the 2012 Cambridge UP edition of *The Years*, Anna Snaith links the figure to Woolf's "Docks of London" essay (written as she was beginning work on her novel-essay, *The Pargiters*), which shows colonial goods driven along routes emanating from London.

Snaith suggests Woolf's doodle symbolizes the relation between the Victorian home and the heart of empire, from which young men were sent out on colonial or military service. As Snaith observes, it may also refer to the outward projection of the self: "Identity is formed in such moments of contact" (xl). Johnson associates the symbol with another of the novel's tropes, that of a wheel organized around a central hub, corresponding to the image of the searchlight which also recurs throughout the text. See Johnson, "Introduction," xxxiii.

[23] Grace Radin's study *Virginia Woolf's 'The Years': The Evolution of a Novel*, published in 1981, was the first comprehensive account of the story of *The Years*, how it was written, and how it changed as it was revised.

[24] Mass-Observation was a program set up by the poet Charles Madge (1912–1996), anthropologist Tom Harrison (1911–76), and filmmaker Humphrey Jennings (1907–1950) to study the everyday lives of ordinary people in Britain. The Mass-Observation organization was founded in 1937; its work ended in the 1950s but was revived in 1981. As Sharpe points out, the idea was to collect masses of data on the British population in order to be able to decode collective patterns of behaviour. Mass-Observation research was occasionally influential in shaping British public policy. During World War II, the Mass-Observation Society did research on commission for government authorities trying to formulate recruiting policies and war propaganda.

[25] *The Sex Disqualification (Removal) Act 1919* received royal assent on 23 December 1919. Woolf refers to this in *Three Guineas* as "the sacred year" that gave "educated men's daughters" the power "to earn their livings" (*TG* 23). The Act amended the law that regulated admission to the civil service in order to ensure that no person would be disqualified by sex or marriage from the exercise of any public function, from holding any civil or judicial office, from entering any civil profession, or from being barred from admission to any incorporated society, or being prevented

from serving as a juror. Formerly, women had been precluded from all such occupations and organizations. The education system also discriminated against women. By the early 20th century, British women could attend university but, until the 1920s and 1930s, they could not take degrees.

[26] A number of photographers and journalists were enmeshed in the coverage of the Spanish Civil War, key among them: Robert Capa and Gerda Taro (photographers); Louis Delaprée (1902-1936), correspondent for the French newspaper, *Paris-Soir*; Arturo Barea, Madrid's foreign press chief, along with his Austrian deputy, Ilsa Kulcsar; Ernest Hemingway, novelist and journalist; and Martha Gelhorn, journalist. Their photographs and first-hand accounts of the aerial and artillery bombardment of Spain—the town of Getafe (30 October 1936) and the city of Madrid (November 1936), in particular—are acknowledged influences on Woolf, who, according to Martin Minchom, kept a copy of Delaprée's *Martyrdom of Madrid* (1937) among her press clippings while she wrote *Three Guineas*. Amanda Vaill also notes the connection: "in London, ... the photographs Barea had rescued of the dead children of Getafe, ... Capa's images of the bombed buildings of Madrid, and ... Delaprée's despatches would help crystallize [Woolf's] argument in ... *Three Guineas*, which attacked, in the name of preventing war, the patriarchal society that produced it" (88). See Martin Mincho, "From Madrid to Guernica: Picasso, Louis Delaprée and the bombing of civilians, 1936-1937" (*The Volunteer*, 23 November 2010). Web. http://www.albavolunteer.org/2010/11/from-madrid-to-guernica-picasso-louis-delapree-and-the-bombing-of-civilians-1936-1937/ and Amanda Vaill, *Hotel Florida: Truth, Love, and Death in the Spanish Civil War* (New York: Picador, 2014). Further discussion can be found in Emily Dalgaro, *Virginia Woolf and the Visible World* (Cambridge UP, 2001), 149-78. For more images from the Spanish Civil War, see: http:www.cchs.csic.es/sites/default/files/Cuadernillo%20Paseo_Madrid_2014.pdf

[27] Several male critics took umbrage at Woolf's photographs and related comments about their dress. Woolf's nephew, Quentin Bell, reporting his own and John Maynard Keynes's responses, states that Woolf's illustrations "seemed a monstrous addition. They made a mockery of our history and institutions and this [Keynes] resented." Bell, "Recollections and Reflections on Maynard Keynes," in Derek Crabtree and A. P. Thirwall, eds., *Keynes and the Bloomsbury Group* (Macmillan, 1980), 78. For further discussion of reactions to Woolf's photographs in *Three Guineas* and to what some viewed dismissively and disapprovingly as her "feminist intentions," see Black, lvi-lvii.

[28] Woolf's question raises serious questions about the impartiality of the foreign correspondents' reports from Spain. It shines a searing light on the way in which photographs from Spain were used to chronicle the horrific Nationalist attacks on civilians but also possibly distorted or employed out of context to support an international campaign for the Republican cause. Louis Delaprée, in his article "*Madrid sous les bombes*" ("Bombs Over Madrid), published in *Marianne* 25 November 1936 under the pseudonym Jean Roget, claims to provide unbiased testimony of bombings he witnessed; however, as Amanda Vaill notes, his reportage is "increasingly filled with Bosch-like images of murdered women and children" (87). For Delaprée's article and accompanying photographs see: http://www.albavolunteer.org/2010/11/bombs-over-madrid/ and for further discussion of theories that foreign correspondent's were, first and foremost, propagandists, see: Robert Stradling, *Your Children Will Be Next: Bombing and Propaganda in the Spanish Civil War 1936-1939* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2008); and Brett Holman, "The non-atrocity of Getafe" (*Airminded* 11 October 2009). Web. http://airminded.org/2009/10/11/the-non-atrocity-of-getafe/

[29] Woolf is quoting Bertrand Russell, who mocks those "eminent craniologists [who attempt] to prove from brain measurements that women are stupider than men." *The Scientific Outlook*, 17. See *TG*, 127, 167.

[30] Woolf attributes the quote within this quote to Julian Huxley, *Essays in Popular Science* (London: Pelican Books, 1937), 62-3.

[31] Auden's "The Shield of Achilles" has as its major and ironic intertextual gesture Homer's Trojan War epic, the *Iliad*. Auden's poem reimagines, in twentieth-century terms, Homer's description of the shield Achilles ultimately uses in his fight with Hector (described in Book 18 of the *Iliad*, ll. 476-608). Auden's poem, written in 1948 and first published in 1953, was later included in a 1955 volume of Auden's poetry, of the same title.

[32] Freud's theories of the conscious and unconscious mind were of interest to both Woolf and Auden. In 1924, the Woolfs agreed to have the Hogarth Press publish the English edition of Freud's collected papers, under the general editorship of their friend James Strachey. Virginia Woolf is known to have met Freud (28 January 1939); Auden's "In Memory of Sigmund Freud" (1939) reflects on the similarities between psychoanalysis and the work of the poet. For more on Freud's influence on Woolf's and Auden's work, see: Julia Briggs, "Virginia Woolf Meets Sigmund Freud." *Canvas* 18 (2011) n. pag. http://www.charleston.org.uk/category/canvas/. Charleston Trust, 13 Jan 2011 Web; Elizabeth Abels, *Virginia Woolf and the Fictions of Psychoanalysis*; and John R. Boly, "Auden and Freud: The Psychoanalytic Text," Tony Sharpe ed., *W. H. Auden in Context*, 160-9.

[33] "Are you for, or against, the legal Government of the people of Republican Spain? Are you for, or against, Franco and Fascism? For it is impossible any longer to take no side." These were the questions asked of scores of writers and poets in England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales by the editors of the *Left Review* in 1937. The answers were published in Paris, June 1937, in a broadside pamphlet entitled "Authors Take

Sides On The Spanish War." Auden was a signatory to the piece and his poem "Spain" is quoted on the opening page. Auden's answer to the questions reads as follows: "I SUPPORT THE VALENCIA GOVERNMENT in Spain because its defeat by the forces of International Fascism would be a major disaster for Europe. It would make a European War more probable; and the spread of Fascist Ideology and practice to countries as yet comparatively free from them, which would inevitably follow upon a Fascist victory in Spain, would create an atmosphere in which the creative artist and all who care for justice, liberty and culture would find it impossible to work or even exist."

[34] Auden also questions "classical" or received knowledge in a subtle critique at the beginning of his poem "Musée des Beaux Arts" (1938): "About suffering they were never wrong,/ The old Masters...." The ekphrastic analysis of Brueghel's *Fall of Icarus* is designed to demonstrate just how wrong they were/are. "Musée des Beaux Arts" was also included in *Another Time* (1940).

[35] Auden's phrase "virile bacillus" equates a military-minded masculinism with social and cultural disease. Woolf makes similar connections in *Three Guineas* when she compares the blood spilled in war to "the fury and brutality" aroused by "claims for liberty" in the "battle[s] of Whitehall, ...Harley Street, ... [and] the Royal Academy, which, she claims, cost as much socially and were as "deadly as [those] that [actually] waste blood" (*TG* 60, 148). Like Auden, Woolf employs metaphors of disease and diagnosis throughout her cultural analyses. In *The Years*, young Peggy Pargiter is a doctor and scientist who obsessively tries to probe the human condition, *la pauvreté des êtres humains* (*TG* 269).

[36] The speaker's prediction of a future envisioned as "the hour of the pageant-master" has two immediate Woolfian connections: the "pageants" of masculine accomplishment captured in the photographs featured in *Three Guineas*, and the pageant in her novel *Between the Acts* (*1941*).

[37] *Another Time* is the title of a collection of Auden's poems published in 1940, after the poet had left England for America. The volume contains Auden's shorter poems written between 1936 and 1939 with the exception of those already published in *Letters from Iceland* (1937) and *Journey to a War* (1939). For more detail, see Sharpe, *Auden*, 55-6.

[38] This quote is taken from "Inside the Whale" in *The Collected Essays, 30's Journalism and Letters of George Orwell*, I: 516, cited in Patrick Deer's essay "Auden and Wars," which appears in Sharpe, ed., *W. H. Auden in Context*, 150-9.

[39] Auden's 1939 journal is the subject of a chapter in Bonnie Costello and Rachel Galvin's book *Auden at Work* (2015). Galvin explains that over the course of the year 1939, Auden kept a private notebook that he used for journaling. This journal came to light for researchers only recently, in 2013, when it was acquired by the British Library from a private collector. "Whereas many of Auden's notebooks are filled with richly suggestive poem and prose drafts with scarce personal jottings or doings mixed in, such as in his 1928–35 or his 1946–61 and 1966–67 notebooks held in the Berg Collection at the New York Public Library," Galvin notes, "the 1939 journal is primarily structured as a diary. Its dated entries progress sequentially from August 30 through November 26" (26).

[40] During the Spanish Civil War, several countries followed a principle of non-intervention to avoid escalation and expansion of the war to other nations. In August 1936, a Non-Intervention Committee was set up by the French and British governments as part of pursuing a policy of appeasement. The committee included the governments of the Soviet Union, Fascist Italy, and Nazi Germany. Ultimately, it had the support of twenty-four nations.

[41] Shakespeare makes several references to rooks in connection with murder and betrayal in the tragedy *Macbeth*. See: Alfred Harbage, ed., *The Complete Pelican Shakespeare* (Baltimore, MD: Penguin Books, 1969). *Macbeth* 3.2.51 and 3.4.125.

[42] Sean Grass observes that, "Auden's incarnation of Eros Paidagogos at first seems to be simple Romanticism: a Wordsworthian comment about the simplicity of the common individual followed by the Byronic view of the tortured poet bemoaning his talent, heightened sensitivity and moral awakening" (96). According to modern studies, however, the concept of *Eros Paidikos*, which emerged around 630 BCE, began to flourish in the form of myths about love relationships between male gods and male heroes. *Eros Paidikos* is one of love's many different aspects—in this case, affectionate relationships between men which have both a moral and a pedagogic content. Greek classicist scholar Ioannis Sykoutris explains that *eros paidikos* was connected with the notion of education and usually resulted in long-lasting friendly relationships. Sykoutris, "Symposium (Introduction and Comments) in Greek," Estia (2000), 61, 63.

[43] The term "*nobilmente*" was invented by the English composer Edward Elgar (1857–1934). Elgar is best known for the first of five *Pomp and Circumstances Marches* which were composed between 1901 and 1931. At the time of the coronation of Edward VII (1902), Elgar was commissioned to set A. C. Benson's *Coronation Ode* to music for a gala concert at the Royal Opera House. To mark the occasion, Benson was asked to fit words to the middle "trio" section of the first *Pomp and Circumstance March*, which Elgar incorporated into his setting of the *Ode*. This now famous vocal piece, "Land of Hope and Glory," (also known in America as "The Graduation March") is considered an unofficial British anthem. Auden's choice of the word "*nobilmente*" thus intensifies the speaker's critique of how art, co-opted by the state, can become propaganda.

[44] Wilfred Owen (1893-1918) wrote some of the most memorable poetry about World War I, including the famous poem "Dulce et Decorum Est," which was published posthumously in 1920. Auden was a great admirer of Owen's work and Owen is one of the poets reviewed and thereafter frequently cited by Woolf. In *Three Guineas*,

Woolf quotes one of Owen's more famous lines: "[P]ure Christianity will not fit in with pure patriotism" (7). Owen was killed in action one week before the Armistice.

[45] "Present Day" is the heading of the final chapter of *The Years*. Unlike the other sections of the novel, which are identified by a specific year, this heading leaves the time frame ambiguous. Snaith observes that the lack of designation of a specific year "alerts the reader to the movability of the 'here and now'" and to the way in which the present moment is constructed via the past and the future ("Introduction" xli). Johnson notes, however, that the chapter can be roughly dated from the character Peggy's age: "according to [her aunt] Eleanor, in 1911 Peggy is 'sixteen or seventeen' [144], and in 'Present Day' she is 'thirty-seven, thirty-eight?' [277], which makes it sometime between 1931 and 1933" ("Introduction" 351).

[46] Some might find the death-watch for Mrs. Pargiter, with which *The Years* begins, to be harsh or at least very unsentimental. But Woolf's insistence on the need to kill the Angel in the House is serious, however playfully presented in "Professions for Women" (see this dissertation Ch. 2, n. 58)

[47] The Jew-boy from Birmingham recalls another of Woolf's "outsiders," Louis, the Australian, in *The Waves.*

[48] See Sedgwick, *Epistemology of the Closet*, 185.

[49] Similarly, in *Mrs*. *Dalloway* (1925), the character Sally Seton, a rebel in her youth, has become conventional with age: married into money and now Lady Rosseter.

[50] The remark that Edward Pargiter has "an air of being stamped" suggest that he has been branded. Woolf would certainly have known that the English word "character" comes from the ancient Greek word for the mark that is literally carved or stamped into the material.

[51] See Ch. 1, n. 45 regarding Joyce's similar use of "net" imagery.

[52] Woolf echoes Conrad in this description of the kinds of trashy content disseminated by the daily press. In *The Secret Agent*, Conrad's narrator refers to

newspapers as "wares from the gutter ... damp, rubbishy sheets of paper soiled with printers ink" (65).

[53] While *The Years* was an immediate bestseller when it appeared in Britain and the United States (on 15 March and 8 April 1937, respectively), critics, friends, and even Woolf herself, were divided as to whether the novel was a "masterpiece" or a "dank failure" (*D*5 70, 75). Bradshaw and Blyth observe that contemporary critics' assessment of the work was predominantly negative, causing the book to be largely overlooked for several decades following Woolf's death. More recently, they note, these original appraisals have been superceded "by a more nuanced appreciation of [the novel's] depth, intricacy, ambition and patterning" ("Introduction" xii). Jane Marcus sparked this new interest in Woolf's late work when she proclaimed, in 1977, that *The Years* had "never been properly assessed within the canon of Woolf's work nor put in its true place as the pride of British literature of the nineteen-thirties" (137). For a more detailed discussion of the early critical reception of the novel, see Blyth and Bradshaw, "Introduction" xx-xxii; and Snaith, "Introduction," lxxxviii-xciii.

[54] Bradshaw and Blyth note that one of the reasons *The Years* sold so well when it was first published was the strong likelihood that readers thought it was another family chronicle. The family saga genre, which typically followed a family or a group of interconnected families through several generations, was very popular in Britain and America in the 1920s and 1930s. Woolf, herself, singles out two particular examples of the genre in a diary entry dated 2 September 1933—John Galsworthy's *The Forsyte Saga* (a series of three novels first published together under that name in 1922) and Hugh Walpole's *Herries Saga* (a series of four novels, the first of which was published in 1930; Walpole had just sent Woolf an advance copy of the fourth) —both of which, she makes clear, she did not want her novel to imitate. "[W]hat I'm after does not compete with The Herries Saga, the Forsyte Saga & so on" (*D*4 176).

As Bradshaw and Blyth observe, "Woolf was all too aware that the genre was hardly compatible with her desire to subvert a patriarchal society" ("Introduction" xxi).

[55] Shortly after completing "Spain" in May 1937, Auden travelled to China with Christopher Isherwood to cover the Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945). The result was the book *Journey to a War* (1939), a hybrid travelogue the two men co-authored. Written in prose and verse, the book is divided into three parts: a series of poems by Auden describing the men's journey to China; a "Travel-Diary" by Isherwood (including material first drafted by Auden) describing their experiences in China and with the war; and Auden's "In Time of War: a Sonnet Sequence with a Verse Commentary." The book also contains a series of sixty photographs taken by Auden, in addition to a fold-out map. Auden later revised or discarded many of the poems in this volume. "In Time of War" was renamed "Sonnets from China," and several of the original sonnets, as well as the verse commentary, were dropped.

[56] "A Summer Night," also known by its first line "Out on the lawn I lie in bed," was composed in June 1933 and first published in *The Listener* in November 1935. Auden later wrote about the mystical "vision" he described in this poem in a foreword to Anne Fremantle's 1964 anthology *The Protestant Mystics.* See Mendelson, *EA* 159-161; Sharpe, *Auden* 79; and Fuller, *A Reader's Guide to W. H. Auden*, 149. Dedicated to Geoffrey Hoylan, headmaster of the Downs School, Colwall, where Auden was teaching, the poem originally consisted of sixteen five-line stanzas, but Auden later removed the 5th, 10th, 11th, and 12th stanzas. Sharpe notes that the stanza form, a tetrameter couplet followed by a shorter trimeter line, "acts as a sort of break on the preceding couplet, whilst its rhyme serves to unify the inherently schismatic stanza: subtly evoking by sound the interplay of contrary forces which occurs at the level of sense" (*Auden* 79).

[57] See Katherine Bucknell, ed., "Introduction," *W. H. Auden Juvenilia: Poems 1922-1928* (Princeton UP, 1994), xxv.

[58] Auden's volume of poetry, *Look, Stranger!* (1936) was dedicated to Erika Mann who, although not identified as such, was legally Auden's wife (Sharpe, *Auden* 50). Auden married Mann, daughter of the novelist Thomas Mann, in order to provide her with a British passport. *Look, Stranger!* (published 22 October 1936 by Faber & Faber in Britain) was titled *On This Island* when it was published in the United States on 2 February 1937. *Look, Stranger* was the collection for which Auden received the King's Gold Medal for Poetry.

[59] Radical parataxis is a cornerstone of Woolf's technique. Her narrative method in such novels as *To the Lighthouse*, *Orlando*, *The Waves*, *The Years,* and *Between the Acts* depends increasingly upon juxtapositional structures, for example: Orlando the man/ Orlando the woman.

[60] *The New Yorker* magazine noted that Auden's poem sprang to renewed life, after 11 September 2001, as an embodiment of the national mood, "posted on Web sites and subway walls" (Gopnik, 23 September 2002).

[61] Mendelson notes that after exposing the lies told by others, Auden ends the stanza with the "resonant affirmation: 'We must love one another or die.'" Re-reading this line in 1964, Auden decided "this too was a lie" because it is obvious "'we must die anyway.'" Quoting Auden, Mendelson reveals that as a result, the entire stanza was cut from future published versions of the poem: "'The whole poem, I realised, was infected with an incurable dishonesty and must be scrapped'" (*EA* 326).

[62] Sharpe is quoting Henry James's "Preface" to Volume 10 of the New York Edition, (1908), wherein James discusses *The Spoils of Poynton*.

[63] Perry does not provide a source for this quote, but the lines are from of one of Auden's late poems, published in *Epistle to a Godson: and other poems* (New York: Random House, 1972).

[64] Auden made this observation to Robert Fitzgerald. See Fitzgerald, "From the Notebooks of Robert Fitzgerald," *Erato*, 2.3 (Fall-Winter 1986), 1.

[65] In March 1932, Woolf was the first woman to be invited to deliver the prestigious Clark Lectures at Cambridge University, an honour her father, Leslie Stephen, had been accorded in 1883. Woolf turned down the opportunity on principle, believing that accepting such a distinction would compromise her ability to criticize openly the workings of the kind of educational institution Cambridge represented and she so clearly abhorred.

[66] In her essay "The Leaning Tower," Woolf urges her readers—"commoners and outsiders like ourselves"—whenever you see a sign saying: "'Trespassers will be prosecuted', trespass at once.... Literature is no one's private ground; literature is common ground. *It is not cut up into nations; there are no wars there. Let us trespass freely and fearlessly and find out own way for ourselves*" (LT 181; emphasis mine).

Chapter Four

Framing the Citizen

It is one thing, in times of economic prosperity, for a nation founded on an ideal of freedom and so-called democratic principles to cling to the maxim that "a rising tide lifts all boats." The expression is frequently employed as a rationale for defending policies that benefit the wealthy while theoretically increasing income and opportunity for all. It is valid to the extent that, viewed from a governmental perspective, in an era concerned with population management, it is the interests of the majority and those of the nation which must predominate and propel the state's progress. An expanding economy is key. What this narrative fails utterly to account for, however, is the devastating consequences it has, particularly in times of financial crisis, on those human beings lowest on the political socio-economic scale. Ostensibly an account of "We, the People," citizens all of the United States of America, this version of the nation's story trumpets liberty, opportunity, and a totalizing vision of the American dream.[1] Meanwhile, by necessity, it elides the desperate facts of some people's existence. Foucault declares, "human misery must never be a mute leftover of politics."[2] These simple words encapsulate the great predicament of a nation that professes equality for all its citizens, yet is grounded on the dehumanizing effects of power politics, which create (and rely on) a permanent underclass. In the late 1920s and 1930s, worldwide monetary collapse brought this issue glaringly to the fore. Nowhere was the impact of the Great Depression more markedly in evidence than in the American south, where the damage to people's lives was crushing and massive in scale. The problem of how to deal with extreme destitution, degradation, and alienation of the poorest segments of the population is one that goes to the core of what constitutes the concept of a citizen. As Foucault recognizes, to be dispossessed of

all economic power is to become refuse, to be silenced, effectively to be stripped of one's citizenship rights.

This chapter examines two texts whose authors' goals were to counter the so-called progressive nationalist discourse of the day and lay bare the starkest realities of race and class divisions in 1930s America. Richard Wright's *Native Son*, published in 1940, is the story of a young African American man, Bigger Thomas, who grows up in the poorest of south-side Chicago neighbourhoods. Largely uneducated, estranged from family, disillusioned, disdainful of religion, and distanced from his own culture, Bigger has been described as the product of "more than two centuries of enslavement and segregation of blacks" (Rampersad ix). Wright's work deals with the inevitability of the brutal violence that erupts in response to intolerable social conditions, the absence of connection to community, abject fear, and the quashing of all hope of a decent life. Similarly, James Agee and Walker Evans's extraordinary photo-documentary project, *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men*, released in 1941, delves into the lives of people whom Agee refers to as "[a]n undefended and appallingly damaged group of human beings," three "ignorant" and "helpless" white cotton tenant farm families, living in the tiny rural crossroads of poverty-stricken Hobe's Hill, Alabama (*FM* 5). For Wright, Agee, and Evans, the enormity of the social, economic, and governmental forces working against such downtrodden people raises the problem of how to depict them as individuals, citizens in their own right, worthy of dignity, and deserving of a voice.

Wright, Agee, and Evans all dwell on the gaping disparity between their wealthy, educated, predominantly white, middle/upper class readers and the "innocent" beings, the subjects of their respective works, who live permanently tethered to a way of existence determined for them by the homogenizing and constraining forces of the nation state. The texts interrogate the workings of governmentality in an age concerned with control of the "masses," the production of

knowledge, the spinning of narratives, and their dissemination in discourse. Prefiguring Foucault, all three writer/documentarians probe the ways in which racialized, classed, and gendered notions of social hierarchy and personal identity have been lodged in the national consciousness. Each in his own way attempts to intervene in the archive, to expose the machinations of power, and imagine what it would be to live in a truly civilized, democratic society, one in which everyone belongs, all are equal citizens, and no one is stigmatized, subjugated, isolated or interned.

Both Wright's and Agee/Evans's works are set against the backdrop of the Great Depression and President Franklin D. Roosevelt's "New Deal" programs, the series of public work projects, reforms, and regulations implemented in the United States between 1933 and 1936, aimed at stabilizing the economy and restoring prosperity to America and its people. Perhaps predictably, the measures taken in this period coincided with an enormous surge in the dissemination of knowledge—the emergence in the 1930s of what would come to be known as the "culture industry."[3] This evolution entailed the rapid expansion, institutionalization, and consolidation of mass circulation media and the establishment of such powerful corporate empires as Henry Luce's Time Inc.[4] By 1939, Time's publications alone reached forty million people each month—more than a quarter of the national population—putting massive power to influence public opinion in the hands of a very small number of elite capitalist entrepreneurs (Herzstein, *Luce*, 117-18). As Jeff Allred argues in *American Modernism and Depression Documentary*, the new forms of media and technology that enabled these developments were not necessarily neutral but rather a means that could "be oriented toward ... political ends." Business and government had separate but overlapping agendas; both were intent upon strengthening the notion of the American nation and "subjecting the fragmentary data of experience to a subsuming ideological frame" (Allred 181, 171). As the following sections will

elucidate, Wright and Agee/Evans resist the evangelical efforts of the dominant classes to control the narrative, to consolidate power, and to extend their scope both nationally and internationally.

Intriguingly, a detour to 1830s France proves helpful in critiquing the way in which concepts of citizenship were framed in the governing discourses of 1930s and 1940s America. Throughout his career, Foucault (like Wright, Agee, and Evans) was interested in the way in which knowledge comes to be produced and how it continually works to reinforce the power of certain dominant groups in society. The central object of examination in Foucault's work is the impact these processes have on the most marginalized people, those at the extremities of networks of power or at the lowest end of the social scale, those least able to speak for themselves. In the mid-1970s, Foucault and a team of researchers at the Collège de France spent a year studying a previously neglected case involving a horrific set of murders committed in 1835 by a French peasant, one Pierre Rivière, in a small rural commune in Normandy. A brief examination of Foucault's work on the Rivière case uncovers several interesting connections among his, Wright, and Agee/Evan's projects.

The underlying events of the Rivière case unfolded as follows: on the day in question, 3 June 1835, Rivière entered his family home and viciously attacked his pregnant mother, his eighteen-year-old sister, and seven-year-old brother, hacking them all to death with a billhook.[5] Rivière was tried, convicted, and sentenced to death, but the decision was subsequently commuted and he was condemned to life imprisonment. Ultimately, Rivière took his own life in La Maison Centrale de Beaulieu. Foucault's project entailed piecing together a dossier of all the documents related to the case: material evidence, police reports, newspaper articles, various experts' testimonies and biographies of the accused, as well as Rivière's own account of his crime (a narrative that Rivière had imagined and attempted to record before the killings but which, Foucault reports, he only finally wrote at the trial judge's request.)

The dossier that Foucault and his group assembled was published—along with the research team's notes and present-day analyses—as a book entitled *Moi, Pierre Rivière, ayant égorgé ma mère, ma soeur, et mon frère...*, edited by Foucault, in 1974.[6]

Rivière's court hearing occurred at a time when a number of professions were contending for status and power and there was budding debate over the use of psychiatric concepts in criminal justice. There was a great deal at stake in the questions these struggles raised: was the perpetrator of a heinous crime a criminal or a madman? Who had the power to influence these decisions and, in terms of adjudicating and sentencing, what were the grounds for the choices among clemency, treatment, commitment, incarceration, or condemnation to death? Foucault states that the dossier forms "neither a composite work nor an exemplary text, but rather a strange contest, a confrontation, a power relation, a battle among discourses and through discourses." The reason for the decision to publish these documents, he explains, "was to draw a map, so to speak, of those combats, to reconstruct these confrontations and battles, to rediscover the interaction of those discourses as weapons of attack and defense in the relations of power and knowledge" (*IPR* x, xi). Using Foucault's work as a methodological guide, this chapter studies the ways various forms of discourse (medical, legal, social, psychological, political, corporate, and criminological) war among themselves to create and elevate certain seemingly seamless narratives while effectively silencing others.

There are some striking parallels between Foucault's dossier, detailing Rivière's crimes, and Wright's novel, which chronicles the events of Bigger Thomas's life—his accidental murder of a young white woman named Mary Dalton; his ensuing frantic fear, which causes him to dismember and burn her body; his subsequent flight; the killing of his girlfriend, Bessie Mears; his capture, incarceration, trial, and sentencing to death in the electric chair. Like Foucault, Wright is interested in

examining the kinds of discourses, the forces of racism and reaction, which shape the consciousness of the individual—in this case, a black-skinned man. In an essay entitled "How 'Bigger' Was Born,"[7] Wright discusses the construction of Bigger's character, describing him as the inevitable outcome of relentless, ruthless forms of oppression; of squalid, confining, de-humanizing living conditions; of hatred and discrimination, of being hounded and lynched—"all those fears which a Negro feels living in America—[fears] carried by every Negro, like a scar, somewhere in his body and mind" (HB 448, 452). For Wright, Bigger is the quintessence of "an American ... not allowed to live as an American" (HB 451).

While composing his novel, Wright came across another, similar, real-life case of a young black man named Robert Nixon who, in 1938, was charged in Chicago with beating a white woman to death with a brick. Wright's tale incorporates elements from transcripts and press clippings of the day detailing the sordid events of Nixon's arrest and trial. As Wright himself acknowledges, "Many of the newspaper items and some of the incidents in *Native Son* are but fictionalized versions of the Robert Nixon case and rewrites of news stories from the *Chicago Tribune*" (HB 455). Nixon, who was ultimately forced to confess to five murders and multiple assaults, was convicted and executed in Illinois in 1939. The prosecuting attorney, the psychiatrist representing the police department, and the mainstream press persistently portrayed him using lurid racist imagery, labelling him a dim-witted moron and demonizing him as a "jungle beast ... utterly untouched by the softening influences of modern civilization" (*NS* 280). Using language that would later be echoed by Foucault, Wright alludes to such attempts to control the narrative as "a *complex struggle for life going on in my country* ... an appendage of a ... [much] vaster and in many respects more ruthless and impersonal commodity-profit *machine*" (HB 441; emphasis mine).

The connections between Agee/Evans and Foucault's projects are perhaps more subtle but certainly no less profound. Like both *Native Son* and *I, Pierre Rivière*, *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men* deals with "lives" characterized by "long cohabitation with the uninhabitable": "the mute horror of the daily round," the "predicament of the dumb beast," or "driven horse, that is "whipped up and pushed to [its] utmost limit" (*IPR* 176). It grapples with the ways in which people's identities are formulated in discourse and how the interests of the governing classes determine the lives of the poorest classes of citizens. Agee's descriptions and Evans's photographs evoke the grim hopelessness of the tenant farmers' existence. The text dissects the ways in which these people are subjugated by power: "it would be our business to show," Agee states, "how through every instant of every day of every year of [their] existence alive, [they] are from all sides streamed inward upon, bombarded, pierced, destroyed by that enormous sleeting of all objects forms and ghosts how great how small no matter, which surround and whom [their] senses take" (*FM* 97). Agee describes the "malleability" and "defenselessness" of these people, against such forces, as the "*slendering of forms of freedom*"—the "structures of psychological violence, strangling, crippling, which take shape" in family relations, the "laboring, subservience, acclimation to insult ... the hideous jokes of education ... the learning of one's situation relative to the world and the acceptance of it"; later, the "locked in marriage and the work, the constant lack of money, need, leanness, back broken work, knowledge of being cheated, ... landlords imposed upon one"—ultimately, the "*helplessness to protest or order this otherwise*" (*FM* 96; emphases mine). Using language which has strong correspondences in Foucault's work, Agee depicts those about whom he writes as "innocent of such twistings as these which are taking place over their heads" (*FM* 10).

One of the defining features of citizenship in a nation that brands itself as a democracy is the right to representation; the entitlement, equal with that of others,

to express one's own experience of truth, and to have an audible voice in the decisions of government. Agee's text, like Wright and Foucault's, resists the attempts of the dominant classes to control the official narrative that defines the terms of citizenship. It is typically the dominant powers that determine what is purported to be "history," what is held out to be "knowledge," or what is accepted to be "truth." Any narrative, however, is simply a story woven together by a process of discriminatory selection among all those actions, voices, experiences, and events that form the raw material of the archive. Like Foucault, Agee exposes how such operations of power work, the motivations behind them, and the effects they have on people's lives. *Famous Men* contests the power of governmentality to determine the discourse and to privilege certain voices over others.

This chapter is divided into three parts. The first part places Wright's *Native Son* and Agee/Evans's *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men* in their historical contexts, exploring them from a literary/cultural frame of reference, as well as from a socio/political perspective. Part two examines the dominant corporate and political agendas of the day, the way they leveraged emerging technologies and employed documentary methods to foster the production and circulation of knowledge, the web of expert relations that worked to fix people's status and identities within a hierarchy that serves the national interest. The final section considers the problems of *artistic representation* that Wright and Agee/Evans encounter as social documentarians. It theorizes the ways in which these are intimately bound up with problems of *political representation* that their central characters face as unacknowledged legal citizens and "forgotten"[8] members of humanity. Following Foucault's method of assembling materials in the dossier to disrupt the ground of representation they rest on and reconstruct them in ways that promote alternative readings, this chapter examines how Wright’s and Agee/Evans's texts subvert nationalist discourse and shatter literary, journalistic, and aesthetic conventions to force readers to confront the bleak

inequities of some people's existence, to reveal the ways in which various professional discourses and powerful social bureaucracies are responsible for such glaring injustices, and to awaken their audiences to the potentially dire consequences of the individual's subjection by the state and to the state's institutions.

I. Literary Contexts

At the time they were published, both *Native Son* and *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men* defied not only the prevailing political rhetoric of the day but also the well-established generic conventions associated with the media in which Wright and Agee/Evans chose to work. Richard Wright's novel, when it first appeared, was unlike anything that had ever been published in the history of American literature. Its central character, Bigger Thomas, shocked and offended the sensibilities of black and white readers alike.[9] Sullen, angry, resentful, and anti-social, Bigger is thoroughly unlikeable, deeply damaged, and seemingly unredeemable. Wright deliberately spares none of the gory details of Bigger's grizzly crimes. In creating Bigger, Wright was determined to register what he refers to as "the moral—horror of Negro life in the United States" (HB 461). His objective was to convey, in indelibly violent images, the brutality to which a person in the depths of pain and rage could be driven.

Wright was well aware of the implications of portraying Bigger "as he saw and felt him ... a living personality and at the same time a symbol of [that which] ... American oppression has fostered in him." If he drew the picture of Bigger "truthfully, there would be many reactionary whites who would ... say: 'See, didn't we tell you all along that niggers are like that?'" (HB 448). Also, another consideration, related to his own race, initially deterred Wright:

> I knew from long and painful experience that the Negro middle and professional classes ... were ashamed of Bigger and what he meant.... [T]hey would not relish being publically reminded of the lowly, shameful depths of

> life above which they enjoyed their bourgeois lives. Never did they want people, especially *white* people, to think that their lives were so much touched by anything so dark and brutal as Bigger. (HB 449-50)

The reaction of middle class "Blacks" likely had much to do with their being resentful of what Nicholas Mirzoeff has termed the "authority of visuality," a process by which the dominant groups in society (the overseers of the slave plantations, British imperial missionaries in the colonies, or military leaders on the modern battlefield) classify and control the "servile classes" under their control. This authority is achieved, first, by "naming, categorizing, and defining," then by "separating the groups so classified as a means of social organization," and finally, by making this separated classification seem "right." "Visuality" manifests the power of the visualizer; it assumes the right of the law and hence the right to define the so-called "real." As Mirzoeff points out, "visuality becomes a discursive practice for rendering and regulating the real that has material effects, like Michel Foucault's panopticism" ("The Right to Look" 476).

Although some African Americans had managed to prosper and improve their lot since Emancipation and passage of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments (whereby they had been granted suffrage and guaranteed equal protection under the laws), they still lived in segregated housing everywhere, were still viewed as second-class citizens, and subjected constantly to demeaning racist attitudes and treatment. Wright's work was like a mirror held to the face of the African American middle class, a graphic depiction of the way their entire race continued to be perceived by white people wielding the "authority of visuality." The novel would serve to reinforce vividly and remind, even those who were better off than Bigger, of the real impacts of the manufactured and imposed "truths" that defined and very literally still confined them. In the end, Wright refused to bow either to white prejudices or black sensibilities. Instead, Wright chose write a book "no one would weep over ... [one]

so hard and deep that they would have to face it without the consolation of tears" (HB 454).

James Agee and Walker Evans similarly rejected social, work-related, and political pressures to conform to the expectations of corporate employers and public audiences. Their work disrupted many of the literary, documentary, and journalistic conventions of their day. *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men* grew out of an assignment the two men accepted in the summer of 1936 to produce, for *Fortune* magazine's "Life and Circumstances" series,[10] an article on cotton tenantry in the United States. The project started out as a piece of Depression-era documentary. Agee and Evans's report was to take "the form of a photographic and verbal record of the daily living and environment of an average white family of tenant farmers" (Agee "Preface," *FM* 9). Agee was a young journalist who, post-graduation, had taken a job working for *Fortune*, the monthly business publication owned by Time Inc.'s founder, Henry Luce. Evans was a photographer temporarily on loan from Roy Stryker's Historical Section of the US Farm Security Administration (FAS), the government agency involved in the task of accumulating for the national archive a massive set of photographic records of American life.[11] In rural Alabama, Agee and Evans found three families (two tenant farmers, the other, sharecroppers)[12] living on Mills Hill, south of Tuscaloosa between Moundville and Greensboro.[13] There, they spent several weeks, observing, writing, and taking pictures, immersing themselves in the lives of these people whom Agee called the Gudgers, the Woods, and the Ricketts.[14] Agee's finished article, with its flowing lyricism and indefatigable cataloguing of daily life, was deemed by his editors to be too long (and very likely too unconventional in style) for publication and the manuscript, including Evans's photographs, was returned to its owners. It was not until four years later, in 1941, that Houghton Mifflin published a much extended version of Agee's work in book-form, along with thirty-one of Evan's photographs, which form an integral part of the text.[15]

In his Preface, Agee notes that the "nominal subject" of *Famous Men* is North American cotton tenantry. "Actually," he goes on, "the effort is to recognize the stature of a portion of unimagined existence" (x). Agee is merciless on the subject of what being mired in poverty does to consciousness: "the brain," he states, "is quietly drawn and quartered" (*FM* 289). Like Wright, Agee aims to show how the predicament of the people he portrays is part of a much larger process of subjugation. With the subject of tenantry "becoming more and more *stylish* as a focus of 'reform,'" Agee observes, the tendency to focus on a single cause is tempting but misguided and "unwise" (*FM* 182). Tenant houses, he states, are a "disgrace" and an "abomination" but, "to talk as if tenantry as such were responsible" for the deplorable social conditions in which these people are forced to live, he insists, is "deceptive and dangerous. It is dangerous because by the wrong assignment of causes it persuades that the 'cure' is possible through means which in fact would have little effect save to delude the saviors into the comfortable idea that nothing more needed doing, or even looking to" (*FM* 182, 178, 181-2; emphasis mine).[16] The "economic source" of the problem, Agee argues, is "nothing so limited as the tenant system but is *the whole world-system of which tenantry is one modification*." As he concludes, "in view of the people who will suffer and be betrayed at the hands of such 'reformers,' there could never be enough effort to pry their eyes open even a little wider" (*FM* 182; emphasis mine). Agee's goal is to expose his audience to the ways in which power operates in its own interests, crushing others in the process.

From the start, Agee denigrated the *Fortune* assignment for being cruel and exploitive: "It seems to me curious," he writes, "not to say obscene and thoroughly terrifying that it could occur to an association of human beings drawn together through need and chance and for profit into a company, an organ of journalism, to pry intimately into the lives [of poor people] ... for the purpose of parading the

nakedness, disadvantage and humiliation of these lives before another group of human beings, *in the name of science, of 'honest journalism'*" (*FM* 5; emphasis mine). Agee blames both corporate greed and political interests for the fact that he and Evans were sent to "investigat[e]" and "spy" on these people: "[We] counted our employers and that Government likewise to which one of [us] was bonded, among [our] most dangerous enemies" (*FM* 6). Agee goes on to suggest that the reading public is unknowingly complicit, picking up these desperate people's "living" as casually "as if it were a book." He accuses his audience of being complacent and smug, "actuated toward this reading by various reflexes of sympathy, curiosity, idleness, ... and almost certainly [a] lack ... [of] consciousness, and conscience, remotely appropriate to the enormity of what they are doing" (*FM* 10). Agee's objective, simply stated, is to capture "the plain rhythm of a human being in basic relation to his country" (*FM* 360). The way Wright puts it in terms of his own project is: "I felt that a right ... deeper than that of politics or race was at stake; that is a *human* right, the right of a man to think and feel honestly" (HB 449).

Wright's aim is to convey directly to his readers the actual lived experience of the Bigger Thomases of the world. As Wright himself puts it, "from the start to the finish, it was Bigger's story, Bigger's fear, Bigger's flight, and Bigger's fate that I tried to depict":

> For the most part the novel is rendered in the present; I [want] the reader to feel that Bigger's story [is] happening *now*, like a play upon the stage or a movie unfolding upon the screen.... Wherever possible, I [show] Bigger's life in close-up, slow-motion, giving the feel of the grain in the passing of time. I [have] long had the feeling that this was the best way to 'enclose' the reader's mind in a new world, to blot out all reality except that which I was giving him.... Throughout there is but one point of view: Bigger's". (HB 459)

Like Rivière's memoir in Foucault's dossier, Bigger's story thus assumes a singular place among the many competing interests and discourses that jostle for position to construct the official narrative of his life.

Rampersad observes that "Wright's central character epitomizes the most radical effect of racism on the black psyche" ("Introduction," *NS* xvi). Despite the terrible acts of violence he commits, Bigger is a man who is largely acted upon by the many social forces that weigh upon him. In the novel, these take the form of a cast of characters who instantiate the various forms of familial, commercial, legal, political, religious, and cultural discourse operating against him. As Rampersad suggests, Wright's *dramatis personae* "stand for the principal players on the American stage where race is concerned":

> One group represented the black world—Bigger and Bigger's family and friends.... Capitalism appears, in the person of Mr. Dalton; and capitalism's fair handmaiden, liberalism, in the persons of the blind Mrs. Dalton and the warm but giddy figure of Mary; communism, cold and analytical but fallible in the person of Max, genial but susceptible in the figure of Jan Erlone, whose naiveté and paternalism help to precipitate the tragedy: religion, in the hapless, incompetent black preacher scorned by Bigger; and overt racism ... as represented best perhaps by the state's attorney. ("Introduction" xvi, xvii)

Scenes in Bigger's cell and in the courtroom where he is put on trial bring all these rival positions together demonstrating how, while they battle one another, they simultaneously combine and collude to shape the collective consciousness of who Bigger is and the threat he poses to American society. As Wright recognizes, Bigger is the product of social conditioning and systemic abuse. The real risk he represents to the nation is much larger than any danger posed by a single deranged citizen;

rather, it is the ticking time-bomb that the millions of impoverished and oppressed Bigger Thomases (*black or white*) symbolize.[17]

Agee's motives are similar to Wright's in terms of exposing the social contexts in which people live and the way in which power works to subjugate the individual. There are also interesting parallels in the way the two authors approach their respective projects. Both Wright and Agee make "the individual, anti-authoritative human consciousness" the governing centre of their respective works and, in each case, the deliberate choice to do so forms one of the writer's key strategies for resisting the control of a dominant discourse (*FM* x).[18] Agee, however, makes what he believes is a crucial distinction between the creation of a fictional character and the difficulties involved in documenting the lives of actual human beings. In his preamble to *Famous Men*, he states:

> In a novel, a house or person has his meaning, his existence, entirely through the writer. Here, [on the other hand,] a house or a person has only the most limited of his meaning through me: *his true meaning is much huger*. It is that he exists, in actual being, as you do and as I do, and as no character of the imagination can possibly exist. *His great weight, mystery and dignity are in this fact ... namely that these I will write of are human beings*" (9, 10; emphasis mine)

Repeatedly Agee laments the fact that even the best writing can never be equal to the formidable task of portraying these people in a way that truly does them justice:

> For in the immediate world, everything is to be discerned, for him who can discern it, ... centrally and simply, *without either dissection into science, or digestion into art*, but with the whole of consciousness, seeking to perceive it as it stands: so that the aspect of a street in sunlight can roar in the heart of itself as a symphony, perhaps as no symphony can: and all of consciousness is shifted from the imagined, the revisive, to the effort to perceive simply the

cruel radiance of what is. (*FM* 9; emphasis mine)

As Agee acknowledges, what he attempts borders on the impossible: he must invent ways of avoiding the traps of discourse while working in a discursive medium. The effort must be to "contrive new techniques proper to [the] recording, communication, analysis, and defense" of elemental life (*FM* x). The beautiful melodic rhythms in the lines quoted above, which are so typical of Agee's prose, suggest that music provides one way of attempting to communicate differently, directly, movingly. As he goes on to remark, however, "[i]f complications arise, that is because [the authors] are trying to deal with [the subject] not as journalists, sociologists, politicians, entertainers, humanitarians, priests, or artists, but seriously" (*FM* xi).

Alluding to the problem of mediated perception in the process of attempting to convey the stark realities of American existence, Agee submits that "next to unassisted and weaponless consciousness,"[19] the camera—provided it is used properly and in good faith—"is the central instrument of our time" (*FM* 9).[20] Evan's photographs, he insists, are not merely illustrative but central to the work: "They, and the text, are co-equal, mutually independent, and fully collaborative." As for the words themselves, they "were written with reading aloud in mind" because, on the printed page, "variations of tone, pace, shape, and dynamics are particularly unavailable to the eye alone, and with their loss, a good deal of meaning escapes." The author's intention is that the text "be read continuously, as music is listened to or a film watched"; that his record and analysis be "exhaustive, with no detail, however trivial it may seem, left untouched, no relevancy avoided" (*FM* ix, x). The work, Agee claims, "is a *book* only by necessity. More seriously, it is an effort in human actuality, in which the reader is no less centrally involved than the authors and those of whom they tell" (*FM* xi). Agee's entire thrust is to make people *feel* at the very core of their beings what it is to inhabit another person's body and mind.

Despite frequently despairing of the possibility of success, he implores the reader to throw his or her whole self into the experience:

> [L]isten to a performance of Beethoven's Seventh Symphony.... [t]urn it on as loud as you can get it. Then get down on the floor and jam your ear as close into the loudspeaker as you can... and stay there, breathing as lightly as possible.... Concentrate everything you can into your hearing and into your body.... As near as you will ever get, you are inside the music; not only inside it, you are it; your body is no longer your shape and substance, it is the shape and substance of the music. (*FM* 12-13)

Agee proposes inspecting every particle of which a person's existence is composed and describing it, painstakingly, in unsparing detail. Tellingly, he insists: "If I could do it, I'd do no writing at all here. It would be photographs; the rest would be fragments of cloth, bits of cotton, lumps of earth, records of speech, pieces of wood and iron, phials of odors, plates of food and of excrement.... A piece of the body torn out by the roots might be more to the point" (*FM* 10). Like Wright, Agee pits visceral understanding against the kinds of knowledge that are manufactured in discourse.

Wright's characters may be fictional, but the message he strives to convey is that Bigger's story is based on actual lived experience of African Americans in the United States. One of the many gut-wrenching scenes in *Native Son* occurs as Bigger is led into the courtroom and "indictment number 666-983 ... the People of the State of Illinois vs. Bigger Thomas" is read against him.[21] As Bigger walks through the courtroom door, he is blinded by a "lightning of silver bulbs flash[ing] in his eyes," disoriented by the "deep buzzing of voices.... The old choking sensation [comes] back to his stomach and throat.... Startled by the sounds of a deep hollow voice" and "banging on a wooden table," he feels "constricted, taut, in the grip of a powerful, impelling fear" (*NS* 369, 68, 71). Instinctively, palpably, he knows that, guilty or

innocent, "They are going to kill me" (*NS* 368). Bigger's clear understanding is that he is about to be lynched.

Wright's novel explores the discourses "of hate and fear" that have been "woven by our civilization into the very structure of [this Negro boy's] consciousness, into his blood and bones, into the hourly functioning of his personality," making him culpable of felony *even before* he committed any crime. As Bigger's white defense attorney, Max, argues:

> Excluded from, and unassimilated in our society, yet longing to gratify impulses akin to our own but denied the objects and channels evolved through long centuries for their socialized expression, every sunrise and sunset makes him guilty of subversive actions. Every movement of his body is an unconscious protest. Every desire, every dream, no matter how intimate or personal, is a plot or a conspiracy ... [e]very hope ... a plan of insurrection, [e]very glance of the eye ... a threat. *His very existence is a crime against the state!* (*NS* 400)

Wright stresses that stereotyped images of the Bigger Thomases of the world are fabricated socially and sustained by relations of force. This courtroom scene serves to show that all of Bigger's reactions are, in fact, deeply conditioned responses both in him and in all African American people.

Interestingly, in *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men*, Agee describes an incident that graphically reinforces Wright's point. On their drive down through southern Alabama, Agee and Evans are suddenly struck by the near-perfect light on the stunning, classic, but asymmetrical lines of a roadside church. While wondering whether to force a window to photograph it, they spot a young black couple walking further up the road who, it occurs to them, might know where to find a minister to let them in. Attempting to overtake them, Agee breaks into a run. His heart-

wrenching description of their instantaneous, involuntary reaction vividly evokes the hunting, cornering, and hanging of a wounded, frightened beast:

> At the sound of the twist of my shoe in the gravel, the young woman's whole body jerked down tight as a fist into a crouch from which immediately, the rear foot skidding in the loose stone so that she nearly fell, like a kicked cow scrambling out of a creek, eyes crazy, chin stretched tight, she sprang forward into the first motion of a running not human but that of a suddenly terrified wild animal. In this same instant the young man froze, ... his wild face wide open toward me, his right hand stiff toward the girl who, after a few strides, her consciousness overtaking her reflex, shambled to a stop and stood, not straight but sick, as if hung from a hook in the spine. (*FM* 38)

The intent of both Wright's and Agee's scenes is to show what the long-accumulated weight of merciless social and cultural conditioning has done to distort these people's minds, subject their bodies, and keep them permanently in their place in the hierarchically formulated structure of citizenship.

By Wright's own admission, Bigger Thomas was based at least partially on his personal experience of racism growing up in Mississippi, Arkansas, and Tennessee. Wright's father was a sharecropper who deserted the family when Richard and his brother were small boys. His mother was an invalid much of her life; the children grew up in poverty, shuffled among relatives but raised primarily by their strict, religious fundamentalist grandmother. In his autobiography entitled *Black Boy* (1945), Wright movingly recalls the hunger and loneliness, prejudice and harassment he experienced, as well as incidents of violence towards blacks which he regularly witnessed first-hand. In 1927, he fled for Chicago, where he was offered the opportunity to join the Federal Writer's Project, part of a government program designed to create work for the unemployed during the Depression.[22] At the time, the Communist party also offered Wright and many other writers "a sense of

ideological and political purpose" (Rampersad, "Introduction" xiii). In 1937, Wright moved to New York City, where he became the Harlem editor of the Communist party's *Daily Worker*. He would later split with the party due to what he described as its dogmatism and intolerance, drawing parallels between it and organized religion.[23]

Wright began his career publishing articles in various left-wing journals but first gained national attention for his 1938 book of short stories, *Uncle Tom's Children*, which addresses the bitter social realities faced by black American men. It was his novel *Native Son* which, along with his bestselling memoir, *Black Boy*, firmly cemented his reputation as a writer. Following *Native Son's* publication in 1939 by Harper's, Wright's novel was picked up in by Book-of-the-Month Club (which demanded a revised, abridged version). The book sold well before suddenly being remaindered, possibly because its subject matter was offensive to so many (see n. 9). After World War II, Wright decided to settle in Paris, partially in response to the racial resentment he had encountered in New York (he became a French citizen in 1947). During this period, he travelled extensively in Europe, Asia, and Africa but, while he continued to write,[24] his work garnered weak reviews and his fame began to wane. Wright died suddenly of a heart attack in a Paris hospital in 1960.[25]

Wright was composing *Native Son* during the worst years of the Great Depression. In states south of the Mason-Dixon line, the thirties were a time, not only of extreme poverty, but also of continued strict segregation of whites and blacks under brutal Jim Crow laws. As Wright makes clear, if this legislation effectively stripped African Americans of all their civil rights, the reasons for it were political and economic greed:

> separation was accomplished after the Civil War by the terror of the Klu Klux Klan which swept the newly freed Negro through arson, pillage, and death out of the United States Senate, the House of Representatives, the

> many state legislatures, and out of the public, social, and economic life of the South. The motive for this assault was simple and urgent. The imperialistic tug of history had torn the Negro from his African home and had placed him ironically upon the most fertile plantation areas of the South; and when the Negro was freed, he outnumbered the whites in many of these fertile areas. Hence a fierce and bitter struggle took place to keep the ballot from the Negro, for had he had a chance to vote, he would have automatically controlled the richest lands of the South and with them the social, political, and economic destiny of a third of the Republic.... [T]he struggle between the whites and the blacks after the Civil War was in essence a struggle for power, ranging over thirteen states and involving the lives of tens of millions of people. (HB 437-38)

As Wright points out, however, if fear and unfair legal measures kept African Americans from exercising their rights as citizens to vote, disenfranchisement was supplemented by "a whole panoply of rules, taboos, and penalties designed not only to insure peace (complete submission), but to guarantee that no real threat would ever arise." This program of oppression involved limiting "the amount of education [a black man] could receive; ... keep[ing] him off the police force and out of the local national guards; ... segregat[ing] him residentially ... [and] in public places; restrict[ing] his participation in the professions and jobs; and ...*build[ing] up a vast, dense ideology of racial superiority that would justify any act of violence taken against him to defend white dominance*; and further to condition him to hope for little and to receive that little without rebelling" (HB 438; emphasis mine).

In his essay "How 'Bigger' Was Born," Wright profiles five black men he recalls from his youth who, as a result of the "terrors" and "limitations" of the "locked-in life of the Black Belt areas,"[26] are infected with such hatred and hostility towards whites that they have become contemptuous of everyone, black or white

(456, 443). They are bullying, violent, surly—or sociopathically aggressive—and heedless of the consequences. As these figures "crystallized and coagulated" in Wright's mind, he began to realize two things. First, he understood that the emergence of "Bigger" was inevitable: "The civilization which had given birth to Bigger contained no spiritual sustenance, had created no culture which could hold and claim his allegiance and faith, had sensitized him and had left him stranded, a free agent to roam the streets of our cities, a hot and whirling vortex of undisciplined and unchannelized impulses" (HB 457, 445). The second thing Wright came to recognize was that the terrible sense of exclusion Bigger experiences was not unique. It was, instead, something that "transcended national and racial boundaries" (HB 443). Living in Chicago, Wright made the discovery that "Bigger Thomas was not black all the time; he was white, too, and there were literally millions of him" (HB 441). Segregation could take forms other than the separation of races. It could extend, particularly in crowded urban environments, to anyone in the lower echelons of society who is taunted and tempted by the promise of money, power, the possibility of a better life, yet is constantly denied such opportunities, permanently blocked and barred from their attainment.

In *Famous Men*, Agee also explores the workings of power, particularly as it affects the lowest classes of citizen. Contemplating the birth of a child, he observes, "[t]his creature, this center, soul, nerve... how he is *globed round, with what shall make and harm him*: what are the constituents of this globe? What are the several strengths of their forces upon him?" (*FM* 92; emphasis mine). Agee imagines the processes that affect the infant in Foucauldian terms, stressing the way in which power operates subtly and silently, but persistently and pervasively, to shape individual consciousness:

> that which we receive yet do not recognize, nor hold in the moment's focus, is nevertheless and continuously and strengthfully planted upon our brains,

> upon our blood: it holds: it holds: each cuts its little mark:... not one of these is negligible: and they measure, not only by multitudes within each granular instant, but by iteration, which is again beyond our counting brain: and with each iteration the little cut is cut a little distincter, a little deeper, a little more of a scar and a shaping of a substance which might have taken other shape and which in each registration loses a little more and a little more power to meet this possibility: and more and more inexorably and fixedly is drawn and shaped into that steepest-sunken of all graves wherein human hope is buried alive. (*FM* 93)

Like Wright, Agee is deeply cognizent of the gradual, grinding pressure that the machinery of power exerts on those it subjects: the way it chokes pride, extinguishes dreams, and makes life wretched, particularly for those at the lowest reaches of the social order. Answering Agee's questions about the nature and operation of the forces that set these processes in motion involves examining the dominant discourses of the day. Some understanding of Agee's background is helpful in taking up his line of thinking and looking at the larger social and national frame of reference in which his project was situated.

James Rufus Agee, born 27 November 1907 in Knoxville, Tennessee, was the son of a working-class father who was killed in a freak automobile accident when Agee was only six. His father's loss haunted Agee all his life and later became the subject of his autobiographical Pulitzer prize-winning novel, *A Death in the Family*, published posthumously in 1957. While the family was not wealthy, Agee's mother came from a middle-class background and Agee was somewhat privileged as a youth. Brought up as an Anglican, he was sent to several boarding schools, including St. Andrews, near Sewanee, where he developed a lifelong friendship with an Episcopal priest, Fr. James Harold Flye. Their correspondence on several topics, literary concerns included, was published under the title *The Letters of James Agee*

to Father Flye in 1962.[27] Agee, however, did not remain an orthodox believer; he was religious only in the sense of his awe of creation and his profound belief in the sanctity of all living things. As Walker Evans later put it, Agee's Christianity was a "punctured and residual remnant, but still ... a naked, root emotion. It was an ex-Church, or non-Church matter" ("Foreword," *FM* vii).

After graduating from Phillips Exeter Academy and Harvard University, Agee was hired in 1939 as a staff writer for Time Inc., where he worked as a book and later a movie reviewer for *Time* magazine before being transferred to another Luce publication, *Fortune*. In 1942, he accepted a job as film critic for the *Nation* as well. Among admirers of Agee's often brilliant reviews was W. H. Auden, who in 1944 wrote a letter to the *Nation*, singling out Agee's column as "the most remarkable event in American journalism today." Auden remarked that, "What [Agee] says is of such profound interest, expressed with such extraordinary wit and felicity, and so transcends its ostensible ... subject that his articles belong in that very select class ... of newspaper work which has permanent literary value."[28] In 1948, Agee decided to start working freelance and, throughout the early 1950s, he worked on a number of literary and cinematic projects, which included screen and documentary film writing.[29] Like Richard Wright, Agee died suddenly and prematurely on 16 May 1955, when he suffered a heart attack in a New York City taxicab.

In a 2006 article for the *New Yorker* magazine, David Denby characterizes Agee as "a literary man" in love with Joyce and Faulkner and drawn to the work Gertrude Stein and Virginia Woolf. Agee had the greatest respect for writers who were willing to take risks, and he himself had ambitious experimental aims. He once wrote to Flye that he aspired "to combine what Chekhov did with what Shakespeare did—that is, to move from the dim, rather eventless beauty of [Chekov's plays] to huge, geometric plots such as Lear ... I've thought of inventing a sort of amphibious style—prose that would run into poetry when the occasion demanded poetic

expression" (*Letters* 46).[30] Agee was an intense and rebellious youth, a left-leaning Bohemian adult who lived modestly but was always somewhat dissolute in his private life. Walker Evans later maintained that it was "[s]heer energy of imagination" that drove him. This Agee combined with great physical energy: he wrote "devotedly and incessantly" ("Foreword," *FM* vi). Evans describes Agee as someone who "could be taken for a likable American young man, an above-average product of the Great Democracy from any part of the country." In his touching tribute, Evans reflects:

> I think he felt he was elaborately masked, but what you saw right away — alas for conspiracy — was a faint rubbing of Harvard and Exeter, a hint of family gentility, and a trace of romantic idealism.... he didn't look much like a poet, an intellectual, an artist, or a Christian, each of which he was. Nor was there outward sign of his paralyzing, self-lacerating anger. ("Foreword," *FM* vii)

Reflecting on the project the two men undertook for *Fortune* magazine, Evans observes that Agee "was in flight from New York magazine editorial offices, from Greenwich Village social-intellectual evenings, and especially from the whole world of high-minded, well-bred, money-hued culture, whether authoritarian or libertarian." With his "uncourtly courtesy," Evans states, Agee "won almost everybody in those [Alabama] families ... even though some of the individuals were hardbitten, sore, and shrewd." The writing that the experience induced, he concludes, "is among other things, the reflection of one resolute, private rebellion ... a rebellion that was unquenchable, self-damaging, deeply principled, infinitely costly, and ultimately priceless" ("Foreword," *FM* vii).

II. Documenting America

The crash of the New York stock market on 24 October 1929 triggered a chain of events, which led to the collapse of the global economy. In the United States, the

effects were catastrophic: widespread panic ensued, banks stopped lending money, consumer spending and investment dropped, causing steep declines in industrial output, and businesses were forced to shutter their doors. By 1932, average earnings had been cut in half and by 1933 unemployment had risen to 12.8 million or twenty-five percent of the labour force. Confidence in the economic system was destroyed. Among the most devastated were farmers, many of whom were already deep in debt due to extended periods of severe drought. Huge swaths of the mid-west had turned into what became known as the Dust Bowl. The ravages caused by soil erosion forced more than two million people to abandon their farms.[31]

The Hoover administration attempted to prop up the banks and stabilize the situation but foundered when it refused direct federal aid to the millions of American citizens in need. Hoover, who believed in limited government, was strongly opposed to providing "handouts" to the unemployed. Underestimating the scope of the crisis, he called on the American people to tighten their belts and the private sector to do its part, but this was a time when local governments, businesses, and charities were incapable of coping with the rising numbers of homeless and hungry. Hoover's failure to take charge helped fuel New York Governor Franklin Delano Roosevelt's rise to power in the 1932 elections. As the Democratic party's nominee for President, Roosevelt won by a landslide, securing majorities in both the House of Representatives and the U.S. Senate. Following his inauguration, Roosevelt moved with alacrity to restore public confidence. With the populace enthusiastically behind him, he pushed a series of acts through Congress, including a number of large-scale federal economic relief programs and public infrastructure construction projects, which over the next ten years, would help or employ millions of Americans.[32]

Farmers, in particular, benefitted from Roosevelt's New Deal, especially the 1933 *Agricultural Adjustment Act* (AAA), which enabled them to raise prices without limiting production, as well as the *Farm Credit Act* of the same year that refinanced a

fifth of all farm mortgages. The Rural Electrification Administration (REA) installed power lines, bringing the huge majority of farms, for the first time, into the modern era. In 1935, the government set up the Resettlement Administration, later renamed the Farm Security Administration (FSA). The mandate of the FSA was to oversee the relocation of farmers from the Dust Bowl region. A "Historical Section," under the control of economist Roy Stryker, was set up to document the process. These bold initiatives were all part of Roosevelt's New Deal which, Peter Walther notes in his "Introduction" to *New Deal Photography*, was an attempt to "counteract collective despondency while also creating a basis for reform." As Walther also astutely observes: "For awhile, massive hardship meant that the government gained widespread approval for previously unthinkable state intervention in the economic fabric of the nation" ("Introduction" 13).

During the early years of the Depression, it was not immediately evident how terribly some people were suffering. Hoping to restore public confidence, politicians, and some in the media and business communities glossed over or tried to minimize the severity of the situation. One of the strange things about the Depression, *Life* magazine remarked in 1938, is that "depressions are hard to see because they consist of things not happening, of business not being done."[33] Men who had lost their jobs tended to become invisible and those families who were starving simply dropped out of sight. In order to consolidate power and rebuild public faith in government, Roosevelt continually emphasized the importance of national belonging and the centrality of the nation in American life. His first collection of presidential speeches, published in 1934, was optimistically entitled *On Our Way*; over the course of the next decade his various proposals for reform were purposefully positioned under the theme "the American way" (Stott 72). During his three terms in office, Roosevelt assembled a formidable coalition that included many lower-income groups in the large cities—African Americans, labour union members, ethnic, religious, and

immigrant minorities—as well as a broad swath of backers from "'the Solid South,' the traditional source of Democratic Party strength" (Leuchtenburg 1). Roosevelt sought to reassure this mass of people who felt disenfranchised that they had powerful allies in his administration. He declared that the South was "the "Nation's No. 1 economic problem," stressing that it was "the *Nation's* problem, not merely the South's" ("Address at Barnesville Georgia," 11 August 1938; emphasis mine).

Roosevelt believed firmly in what he called "progressive government," by which he meant strong federal control of a sweeping array of programs aimed at bringing all of America into the modern age via simultaneous, coordinated, and concerted action on a number of economic, social, and political fronts On the basis of this platform, Roosevelt carried every former Confederate state all four times he ran for office. His "New Deal coalition," as it came to be known, powered the Democratic Party for the next thirty years. The thrust of Roosevelt's message to the American people was that everyone would be included. The Chief Executive's mandate, as he stated it, was "to seek by definite action to correct many evils of the past and of the present; to work for a wider distribution of national income, to improve the conditions of life, especially among those who need it most and, above all, to use every honest effort to keep America in the van of social and economic progress" ("Barnesville" 4). As the following pages will reveal, Roosevelt's agenda involved a significant reshaping of people's conceptions of citizenship. Not everyone, however, benefitted from what in Foucauldian terms might be referred to as the Roosevelt "art of governmentality"—the art of management of the American populace.

In his influential survey of modern American literature, *On Native Grounds*, Alfred Kazin argues that the financial crises of the late 1920s and 1930s precipitated a massive effort, largely instigated by the Roosevelt administration, to "search out the land, to compile records, to explain America to itself" (489). Throughout the thirties,

the public had a seemingly insatiable appetite for information describing and depicting the American scene. This was a time when vast numbers of researchers, journalists, photographers, sociologists, statisticians, and historians criss-crossed the country ceaselessly, systematically documenting the plight of farmers, migrants, African Americans, the unemployed, and people on relief. New Deal funding helped ignite the production and widespread circulation of a spate of documentary works in the form of books, films, reportage, photographic essays, oral histories, and sociological studies. Most of these had an explicit social purpose and a distinct nationalist agenda.

At least a dozen highly influential photo-books were published between 1935 and 1942 (Goodwin 274).[34] This was "a period of unprecedented interest in the ... South":

> a period when the sharecropper ... haunted the public imagination ... [and] fascinated the writer, since he embodied so visual a conception of all that had to be recognized and redeemed in America. He provided an occasion for catharsis; he was a special contemporary phenomenon that fixed the general sense of outrage and quickened the sensibility of fellowship. (Kazin 490, 496)

The primary focus of these works was poverty in America but, tellingly, the vast majority were focussed on white rather than black people's lives. Richard Wright's *Twelve Million Black Voices* stands out as a key text and rare example of a photo-book that focussed on African American life.[35] What Kazin finds fascinating about this era and the enormous body of writing and pictures—"the endless documentation of the dispossessed"—that it produced is the fact that no one seemed to know what it meant. Everyone appeared reduced to making lists: "lists of single impressions, lists of objects and names, above all lists of all those people scattered in the lava flow of the thirties who had stories to tell" (486, 498). As Erskine Caldwell wrote in *Say, Is This the USA?*: "All [this] ... is the America we live in; but none of us knows what to do about it" (qtd. Kazin 497). It is precisely because of this uncertainty surrounding

how to "recover America *as an idea*," Kazin suggests, that the attempt to understand these times had its most prominent expression in photographic and documentary journalism. "[W]riters seemed bent only on reporting, reporting." The drive was to amass a "vast granary of facts on life in America," to compile a "living record," to collect "the raw stuff of history" (Kazin 485, 489, 501). Tellingly, Kazin notes, the "most moving and illuminating testimony of life in the South" came from a WPA dossier of case histories, entitled *These Are Our Lives?* Much of the literature of the thirties and early forties, he concludes, with its focus on assembling a "national inventory ... seem[s] in retrospect a literature of Fact" (487, 490-91). This was America storing away "into a long succession of files, a formal uninterpreted table of statistics on a civilization" (501) and it citizens.

Photography played an essential role in the creation of this rich repository of American life. Between 1935 and 1943, the Historical Section of the Farm Security Administration accumulated thousands of photographs depicting the harsh realities of life across the United States—not only in large cities, but also in smaller countryside towns and remote rural locations. By the time a proper system was set up to organize and provide efficient access to the photos in 1942, the collection had grown to more than 100,000 images.[36] These were widely circulated, appearing in "magazines, ... newspapers, government reports, ... educational material" and in numerous exhibitions and books.[37] The photographs form an extensive archive that interestingly, Walther points out, "still shapes our image of the period today" (21, 15). Exhibiting the photographs was an important part of the Historical Section's mandate. As part of the "Information Division" of the FSA, Roy Stryker's group's mission was not only to *collect* but to *broadcast* information on the government's programs. By 1940, the FSA claimed distribution of more than 1400 images every month to newspapers and periodicals, including popular magazines such as *Time*, *Fortune*, *Life*, *Look*, and *Today* (Bezner 6, Stange 111.) In an era in which

industrialized processes and emergent technologies were being harnessed by government to bring all of America into the modern age, the intent of a great number of these projects, as Edwin Rosskam (one of Stryker's photographers) expressed it, was: "to inform the widest possible segment of the American people about the rural problem that existed and about the governmental program established to meet it" (Rosskam 10).[38]

The camera itself was a remarkable medium that could be used to convey information clearly, vividly, and seemingly instantly through technologies of mechanical reproduction. Its ability to capture images in real time meant that people viewing the pictures at a later date had the sense that they were seeing things *as they actually happened* rather than being told about them by someone reporting after the fact. Consequently, the camera was widely believed to offer a direct window on reality. As Margaret Bourke-White,[39] one of the most famous documentary photographers of the day, declared: "[w]hatever facts a person writes have to be colored by his prejudice and bias. With a camera, the shutter opens and closes and the only rays that come in to be registered come directly from the object in front of you" (qtd. Kazin 495). This statement is, of course, patently untrue. How the subject is chosen, how the picture is composed, framed, exposed, cropped, edited, printed, captioned, and positioned in relation to other photos and the printed word all play a part in the photographer's ability to manipulate the message. Photographs, however, frequently carry such a strong illusion of reality that viewers readily accept their content as truth. Documentary writers strive to imitate the camera in this regard, proffering their material as unmediated fact.

In his frequently cited work, *Documentary Expression and Thirties America*, William Stott asks, "What Is Documentary?" Defining it as "a genre as distinct as tragedy, epic, or satire," he maintains that it differs from traditional genres in that "its content is, or is assumed to be, actually true" (ix). Following Kazin, Stott

examines the documentary movement of the 1930s and early 1940s and argues that it was "more diverse in medium and far broader in imaginative consequence" than many initially recognized. The "documentary motive," Stott contends, pervades the culture of the time. It is in evidence in "documentary books ... and films, ... in the rhetoric of the New Deal and the WPA arts projects, in painting, dance, fiction, and theatre; in the new media of radio and picture magazines; ... in popular thought, education and advertising" (3, 4).

Stott notes two distinct systems of operation within the documentary genre. The first "gives information to the intellect, the second informs the emotions" (12). The former, which Stott calls the "impersonal" mode, purports to furnish objective information or provide decisive evidence, whereas the latter, "personal" mode, conveys actual private lived experience. It "carries and communicates feeling," but in a manner that offers the reader a "glimpse of the inner existence"—a "presentation of facts without fictional matter"—making it possible for one to feel a part of another person's experience (Stott 7, 8, 9). Between these poles, there is a broad middle category comprised of "social documents," whose use, Stott states, is "social documentary" or "public education [that] encourages social improvement" (18, 21). At their core, Stott recognizes, all kinds of documentary can be viewed, simply, as forms of propaganda, often disguised as what was claimed to be the highest form of human expression—"art" (24). Herein, Stott submits, lies the real question about documentary expression: is "documentary" simply an "honest and reasonably objective report or is it a case for the prosecution?" (5).

Stott makes two other interesting observations about social or "human" documents. Quoting Auden, who once stated, "[t]here are events which arouse such simple and obvious emotions that an AP [Associated Press] cable or a photograph in *Life* magazine are enough and poetic comment is impossible" ("Poets" 210), Stott

adds, "[n]ot only is poetic comment impossible," so is "any human comment." This, he declares, is precisely how documentary works:

> It defies comment; it imposes its meaning. It confronts ... the audience, with empirical evidence of such nature as to render dispute impossible and interpretation superfluous. All emphasis is on the evidence, the facts themselves speak. (14)

Secondly, Stott argues the appeal of "human documents" in the news, in galleries, or in books lies in the fact that "they offer safe exercise for the reader's feelings; they test—but gently—his emotional competence to live in the ... world":

> Does he know the latest cause for outrage, alarm, pity, disgust, laughter, warm tears? Can he face up to it? The answer is always yes.... He can face up to human documents, to whatever they put before him.... He can face up to them as he cannot be sure he will always face up to his own life, because they treat of someone else's. (Stott 17)

The result, Stott suggests, is that sensationalism becomes banal; readers become passive, trusting the information upon which the documentary account is based, to actual "fact" and indisputable "truth." In Foucauldian terms, of course, there are no such things as objective facts. So-called "truth" is a construct of power.

A powerful story can be carefully crafted or staged through the weaving of text and photographs. The two prominent figures in the Depression era who understood this, perhaps better than anyone—both already mentioned—were Franklin Delano Roosevelt, chief architect of the New Deal and Henry Robinson Luce, founder and builder of Time Inc. In *American Modernism and Depression Documentary*, Jeff Allred examines the way in which each of these men, in their respective domains, leveraged the arbitrary collections of facts, "the fragments of disarticulated experience," of which 1930s American culture was composed, to construct overarching ideological narratives that served the particular governmental

or commercial interests of the institutions they led. Drawing on Roosevelt's and Luce's speeches and the political or corporate stratagems each employed to make his case, Allred shows how very effectively the "process of collecting 'documents'—snapping photographs, ... transcribing oral narratives, gathering statistics, clipping out mass cultural 'found objects,' and the like—is coupled with their collation into carefully assembled texts and their reception by a mass readership" (10).

Like Walther, Allred argues that Roosevelt's New Deal leveraged a national crisis to rationalize an urgent need to consolidate power. Citing a passage from Roosevelt's second inaugural address, 20 January 1937, Allred argues that the President evokes a "masterful continental vista, figuring himself as both a Prometheus capable of electrifying the Tennessee Valley and a trusted relative who soothes anxieties at fireside with commonsensical advice." Allred illustrates the way in which Roosevelt uses words "to synthesize ... disparate phenomena into a single matrix, such that his audience's sentiments can cleave to the pathos of individual suffering as it is integrated into a broader social landscape of 'millions' or, better, into a 'nation.'" Roosevelt proclaims:

> I see a great nation ... blessed with ... great wealth...
>
> I see millions of families trying to live on incomes so meager that the pall of family disaster hangs over them day by day.
>
> I see millions whose daily lives in city and on farm continue under conditions labeled indecent by a so-called polite society half a century ago....
>
> I see one-third of a nation ill-housed, ill-clad, ill-nourished. (4-5)[40]

Roosevelt's speech divides the nation into two distinct segments: the two-thirds majority who are reasonably well-off and the abject one-third who need the government's help. Applying this logic, Roosevelt is able to position the New Deal programs as a series of benevolent measures aimed at "*bringing these victims back into full national membership*." In other words, he claims to be restoring people to full

citizenship. As Allred points out, using words that contain echoes of Foucault's theories of panoptic control, "photographic seeing is the inheritor, par excellence, of the long-standing Western linkage of vision with knowledge and mastery" (5; emphasis mine).

Tellingly, Roosevelt never mentions race but, as one prominent historian explains: "Racism reared its head in the New Deal, often because federal programs were administered through local authorities or community leaders who brought their own biases to the table" (Leuchtenburg 3). By 1932, more than half the African American population in Southern cities was unemployed. The aid promised to America's poor—black and white—although a boon to many, was insufficient and often inequitably distributed. Also, despite the fact that Roosevelt appointed some blacks to leadership positions, most African Americans continued to be treated as second-class citizens: "though Roosevelt spoke out against lynching [and] found the poll tax reprehensible," he refused to make banning them a priority, fearing—probably correctly—"that endorsing legislation which threatened the South's racial order would cost him the votes of Southerners in Congress (Leuchtenburg 4).[41] Yet, in Roosevelt's vision (and in striking contrast with Wright's), the nation is portrayed as improving the lot of all its citizens and the "industrialization and modernization" of the country, "managed by a technocratic elite ... [is] figured both as an inevitable and unambiguous good" (Allred 4).

In the early thirties, the documentary approach was used primarily by groups wanting to attack the former Hoover government for ignoring the plight of so many of its people. The documentary form was adopted as a means of

> informing the more fortunate classes about the hardship of the poor and unemployed. Such documentar[ies] ... exposed America's shortcomings: the government's mendacity, the brutal wastefulness of a capitalistic system. But when the New Deal came to power, it institutionalized documentary. (Stott 92)

In effect, the Roosevelt administration skillfully co-opted the documentary mission and method as its own; it took the instrument that had been used to undermine the establishment and made it part of the establishment. Roosevelt grasped the power of "word pictures" to convey ideas in an apparently objective manner, to summon seemingly universal truths using the details of a particular case, to elicit strong nationalist sentiment by stirring the heart and conscience of America. Photo-textual narratives thus furnished the vehicle for a number of different strands of discourse that worked to produce an official perspective on 1930s America. These were used to promote a reassuringly enclosing and all-encompassing view of American life, wherein even the country's most unfortunate people are drawn into the warm fold of citizenship with the promise of prosperity managed by a caring government, competent technocrats, and a compassionate community-minded elite.

Capitalist America also understood the power of photo-documentary to craft certain kinds of cultural knowledge and thus consolidate power. It is no coincidence that mass media corporations, such as Time Inc., rose to prominence during the documentary decade of the 1930s. Time Inc.'s first publications were both weeklies: the newsmagazine, *Time*, launched in 1923, followed by business-oriented *Fortune*, in 1930. Both were aimed at members of the professional managerial class, a group whose numbers and social influence had been on the rise in the US since the late nineteenth century (Allred 172).[42]

Time was fairly traditional in format, yet it distinguished itself from other contemporary publications by seeking a national rather than a local audience. *Time's* editors promised the magazine would collect, collate, and condense all the pertinent news on "subjects of importance" into "100 short articles," delivered in a readable style and portable format designed for ease of consumption (Elson 7). As Allred suggests, *Time* offered its readers a "quick panoramic summary of key national and

international developments in politics, economics, society, culture and leisure" (173). Furthermore, he argues:

> *Time* ... took up Walter Lippman's challenge in *Public Opinion*, published the year Time Inc. was founded. Lippman lamented the failure of newspapers and mass media to form a coherent representation of reality and proposed the creation of a disinterested elite charged with "inventing, creating, and organizing a machinery of knowledge" that would remedy "the primary defect of popular government," to wit, the inadequate maps of social reality upon which citizens base political decisions. (236)[43]

By the late 1920s, *Time* had become extremely successful and was steadily gaining readership and advertising revenue. *Fortune*, an expensive magazine printed on high quality paper with hand sewn bindings, was impressive visually; its rich colour photographs were a first in American journalism (Marquis 116-17, Elson, 135). Introduced the year after Hadden's sudden death in 1929, *Fortune* "was pitched at a ... smaller but more exclusive slice of the reading public," reflecting Luce's neoconservative "assumption that a 'business aristocracy' should ... embody the highest values of the nation and exert dominance over its [professional managerial class] and working class counterparts" (Allred 174).[44]

By the mid 1930s, Luce's organization had begun to expand greatly its demographic reach with the introduction of innovative new formats, such as radio broadcasts and newsreels. Yet, it was the photomagazine *Life*, launched in 1936, which established Time Inc.'s great dominance over a broad range of "social groups who lacked the literacy or inclination to read traditional print media." *Life* was read by millions in the lower middle and working classes (Allred 178). Like *Time*, it covered news of national and international significance but did so in the form of visual stories. Glossy and often filled with full-page colour pictures, it differed from other magazines that used photographs to *illustrate* articles: *Life* used photographs

to *drive* narratives. While it was not the first photo-based magazine, Allred explains, *Life* capitalized on the emerging medium of "the photographic essay," combining it with creative use of the "'two-page spread' as the basic unit of consumption rather than the isolated captioned image or column of print." This design made for a "continuous experience," simulating "cinematic montage" or anticipating "the 'total flow' of televisual discourse, weaving together word/image and content/advertising [to form] a seamless whole" (Allred 175).[45]

Life's prospectus to its advertisers emphasized the periodical's role in "piecing the world's picture story together intelligently: [W]hile the camera has achieved high efficiency as a reporter and recorder of our time, a journalistic job remains to be done in articulating a language of pictures" (Luce qtd. Wainwright, *Magazine* 35).[46] Time Inc.'s aim was for its audience "to see life; to see the world; to eyewitness great events; to watch the faces of the poor and the gestures of the proud; ... to see and be amazed; *to see and be instructed"* (Elson 278; emphasis mine). With *Life*, one has "the sense of an elevated and unifying narrative consciousness" but it is not so much that of a "superman," Allred states, as that of "a disembodied eye" whose purview ranges from the world-historical to the everyday ordinary-intimate (181). Education was a key objective of Time Inc.'s documentary method. The root-meaning of the word 'document' is the Latin *docere*, "to teach," and as Newhall notes in his *Documentary Approach to Photography*, the "most effective way to teach the public" is to engage them emotionally, utilizing editorial comment as a method for making the message "more concrete and forceful" (5, 6). The photographic essay provided a potent means of achieving this goal.

Like Matthew Arnold, Luce believed that the general populace posed a grave threat to cultivated society and must be contained. In a speech to the American Association of Advertising Agencies just months after *Life*'s debut, Luce stressed that it was not only "Hitler's crowds, or Mussolini's, or Stalin's ... but the crowds on

American beaches, the crowds in the movies—the even vaster crowds you advertisers yearn for—mass circulation. These crowds ... will destroy civilization." (Such a statement, no doubt, would have horrified and enraged Agee, who vehemently believed that government and capitalist greed represented by far the greatest danger to civilized society.) The best way to control the masses, Luce insists, is to school them utilizing the "purely informative function of journalism" (Luce qtd. Allred 179).[47] As Allred submits, Luce's dream for *Life* was to create a powerful "mode of propaganda," a captivating, entrancing "mode of visual presentation" that spreads its message "without agitation ... assuring readers that ... the various elements of the social status quo know their place" (Allred 183). Luce's aim was in stark contrast with the goals of Wright, Agee, and Evans, all of whom sought specifically to perturb their readers. Luce's conviction was that "every issue of *Life* [must] have the quality of Charm." Charm, he declares, "cannot be extracted from the ordinary processes of journalistic thought. We find that we must definitely plot and plan for Charm" (qtd. Wainwright 91).[48] Time Inc.'s goal was to lull its audience, and the citizenry in general, into complacency and to inculcate specific (white, middle class) values. Luce urges the press to take on the social responsibility of disseminating the supposedly enlightened values of the corporate elite. He encourages journalists to assume the disciplinary function of determining and directing mass culture, and he enjoins prospective advertisers to assume a leadership role as the arbiters of good taste.

Luce's famous editorial, "The American Century," appeared in *Life* in February 1941 (ten months before the attack on Pearl Harbor).[49] In that essay, he argues that the United States must shed its isolationist stance and take on a world leadership role commensurate with its status as the most powerful and vital nation on earth. In Luce's vision, the country must extend its influence and authority politically, economically, scientifically, technically, and morally to preside over a new global order, to support the principles that inform American life, and to ensure that

democracy flourishes around the world. Invoking religious rhetoric, Luce vehemently insists that Americans embrace "our century": this nation "dedicated to the progress of man" must be "the powerhouse from which the ideals [of civilization] spread throughout the world ... lifting the life of mankind from the level of the beasts to what the Psalmist called a little lower than the angels" ("The American Century" 9).

Life magazine, when it launched, enjoyed instant popular and commercial success, allowing Time Inc. as an institution to "spread its political vision on an unprecedented scale" (Allred 175). Similarly, Roosevelt's New Deal programs met with overwhelming populist approval, giving the federal government the broadest possible mandate to expand its jurisdiction and influence. Roosevelt and Luce's ideas about what was good for the country and its citizenry not only informed the government's domestic agenda and Time Inc.'s corporate ambitions, they infused a whole range of disciplines and discourses that determined popular thinking and the way in which Americans perceived themselves. As Foucault's project shows, governmentality works not only through legislation and administrative procedures to secure and control the economic, political, and biological health of the nation, but also through the inculcation of cultural tastes, norms, attitudes, beliefs, desires, and standards of behaviour.

III. Contesting History's First Draft

In the published dossier of the Pierre Rivière case, Foucault observes that Rivière's personal account of his life and crimes comes to be "lodge[d] ... in a defined place in a certain type of discourse in a certain field of knowledge" (*IPR* 208). This is also true of Bigger Thomas's story in Wright's *Native Son*. In "How 'Bigger' Was Born," Wright comments on the nationalist preoccupation with "*one* solidarity of ideals, *one* continuous circulation of fundamental beliefs, notions, and assumptions ... the implicit, almost unconscious, or pre-conscious, assumptions and ideals upon which whole nations and races act and live" (HB 444-45). Any narrative, particularly one articulated

by a person belonging to a minority group, inserts itself into an existing set of myths and creeds, presumptions and collectively-held prejudices. Accordingly, it is subject to being either rejected or received, interpreted, and peremptorily subsumed by this whole body of inherited "wisdom," which is already mediated and freighted with the consensual social values of its time and place. Such is the power of prevailing discourse. As John Reilly succinctly states, "whoever frames the discourse controls knowledge":

> Social power expresses itself in monopoly upon the right to define meaning. Thus, on the obsessive American topic of race, the dominant population — those who chose to call themselves white in order to distinguish their status from that of the people whose slavery and subordination were justified on the basis of skin color — have accorded to themselves the right to compile the documents and relate the tales that define blackness, thereby controlling the circumstances of discussion while suppressing the humanity of the people objectified in the stories and documents as "other." ("Giving Bigger Voice" 36)

Reilly's assertion neatly encapsulates Wright's argument and—although race was not a factor in the Rivière case or commentaries—his words contain strong echoes of Foucault's theories of power-knowledge relations.[50]

The point of both Bigger Thomas and Rivière's trials was not simply to determine the guilt or innocence of the accused, whether he had or had not committed multiple acts of murder, but rather, to establish whether he was the "actual author" of his crimes; in other words, was he a cold and reasoned killer or was he a deluded psychopath who knew not what he was doing? Both men's court cases involved a confrontation among discourses, in particular between those of law and medicine, "a battle over which one would take [the accused] into its charge" (*IPR* 249). In Rivière's case, this conflict entailed each of the professions "engineering ... a narrative" by selecting "among the whole body of facts reported by Rivière and the witnesses" (*IPR*

209). The lawyers' arguments for his sanity rested upon the cogency of his written memoir and one professional practitioner's opinion that, based on a personal interview in prison, Rivière revealed no sign of mental derangement. The doctors, on the other hand, dwelt on Rivière's life, the history of mental infirmity in his family, as well as "the many instances of 'bizarre behaviour, extravagance, and oddity' ascribed to Rivière by the witnesses" (*IPR* 231). The story woven by the medical experts relied on extraneous facts, unsubstantiated rumours, and a "retrospective view to fill in the traditional portrait of the guilty man" (*IPR* 231). The possibility of "extenuating circumstances" paved the way for the greater intervention "not only of psychiatry, but all the social and human sciences (psychology, sociology, genetics, and so on), into the judicial procedure" (*IPR* 215). Behavioural characteristics such as "obstinacy" and "a taste for solitude," not normally considered signs of insanity, were fit into a "coding system" for interpretation: a coding system "which operates on the connotations of discourse; where nothing is said, but all is clear." In this system, harmless traits—likely developed because Rivière as a youth was "different" and often "jeered at"—were distorted and deployed to make perfectly rational acts (his behaviour as a child long before the murders) seem irrational (*IPR* 243, 244). In the course of discussion and debate, the doctors, in their "twilight zones of discernment," systematically "disqualified the discourses that presented Rivière as a 'normal' person" (*IPR* 245).

Foucault's point is that this was all a careful and pre-determined process of leveraging selective facts to "fill in a portrait which had begun to take shape and had to be perpetuated" (*IPR* 235). This was a "game" in which the subjects who participated did not have equal status; a contest in which Rivière's fate was determined by "a question derived elsewhere and administered by others" (*IPR* 209-10). The rules of this game insist that only those who have specialized technical knowledge or academic accreditation are recognized as being qualified to contribute. Rivière's doctors and lawyers managed to craft conflicting narratives, both of which made sense because

they appear to be total explanations. Both depend on discarding Rivière's own story "either because it directly contradicts the [experts'] allegations on specific points or because it does not square with their interpretation as a whole" (*IPR* 250). Importantly, however, as Foucault's commentary suggests, Rivière's personal memoir does "not paint a portrait, [i]t provides a history": a history in which "Rivière is not always the same; this history is obviously not that either of a madman or sadist; *it eludes ordinary classifications*" (*IPR* 249-50; emphasis mine).

Foucault's stated reason for publishing the documents of the Rivière case are that they "provide a key to the relations of power, domination, and conflict within which discourses emerge and function" ("Foreword" *IPR* xi). His objective is to track these processes and to show how they subjugate the individual. Accordingly, Foucault makes the deliberate decision to allow Rivière's memoir to stand on its own, "to assume the central position which is its due" ("Foreword" *IPR* xii). Countering the apparently seamless narratives constructed by various experts involved in Rivière's trial, Foucault and his team decline the opportunity to superimpose their own text on Rivière's account of his life and killing spree. Their contributions, instead, deal with the nature and political workings of the multiple discourses surrounding Rivière's crime. Never conclusive, they focus instead on several different discursive arguments and their political underpinnings. In electing to print Rivière's text in its entirety, with all its inherent complexities and contradictions, Foucault and his researchers accord the accused's narrative its own independent and important status, refusing to let it be "smothered" under the "weight of official texts and official interpretations" (*IPR* 259).

In *Native Son*, various versions of Bigger's story are developed by agents representing the institutional forces of a dominant white society. The "police" (actually a private investigator with a shiny badge whom Bigger instinctively takes to be a cop) seek to portray Bigger as "just another ... ignorant Negro," the easy prey and "primitive" pawn of a Communist or anarchist conspiracy (*NS* 212, 214). The press,

reporting on the murder and manhunt, paint Bigger as an unruly "rapist," basing their purely circumstantial arguments on the assumption that black male lust for young white girls is a well-established fact (*NS* 279). Pulling from a number of pseudo-scientific sources, circulating stories link the colour of Bigger's skin and the shape of his jaw to that of a "jungle beast."[51] His "poor darky family" background and possible mixed blood ancestry provide reason to conclude he is "shiftless and immoral" with "a criminal and intractable nature" (*NS* 279, 280, 281). Such beliefs furnish justification for "residential segregation," "limiting the Negroes' education" by controlling the money allocated to Negro schools, "conditioning Negroes to pay deference" to white people by "regulating their speech and actions," injecting in them "an element of constant fear" (281). The State Attorney, addressing the Court, compares Bigger to a "demented savage," a "rapacious beast," and "a piece of human scum" who must be put to death because of the extreme danger he poses to the population (*NS* 412, 410, 411). As the official representative of government, Buckley conflates all these arguments, moulding them into a conclusive narrative endorsed by the state.

Other discourses offer alternative narratives. The religious authorities sing of "surrender" and "resignation," attempting to seduce Bigger with something "complete" and "self-contained," something that promises the security of belonging but which only succeeds in "mock[ing] his fear and loneliness, his deep yearning for a sense of wholeness" (*NS* 253-54). Offering a form of emotional sedative, religious discourse becomes a means of keeping "the Negro" in his or her place. Liberal-minded capitalists, who control the nation's racist and exploitive social and economic systems, try to salve their consciences—"the feeling[s] of guilt, stemming from our moral past"—with naïve, misguided, self-aggrandizing philanthropic gestures (*NS* 393). Mr. Dalton, for instance, "donate[s] millions of dollars to educate Negroes" while "refusing to rent houses to Negroes ... in other [i.e.: "white"] sections of the city" (*NS* 327). Bigger's lawyer, Boris Max, argues that although Bigger is clearly guilty of murder, extenuating circumstances

must be taken into consideration given that the "boy comes from an oppressed people" (*NS* 294). Max's use of the condescending term "boy" emphasizes the general belief that Bigger is unqualified in society's eyes for full adult responsibility. Max clutches onto an idealistic, blind faith in humankind: the capacity of the oppressed to work with like-minded others "to change human life on earth" (*NS* 424). "'Bigger, you killed,'" Max states in their final meeting before Bigger's execution. "'That was wrong. That was not the way to do it. It's too late for you now'" (*NS* 427). In his altruistic view of humanity, Max can only see the downtrodden minorities as a collective; in the end, like others, he fails to see Bigger as a single and sentient being capable of (a possibly frightful) agency in his own right.

Wright's novel registers the profound effects that the discourses of power have on their subjects. It shows how "the blind will of a hundred million people" leaves men like Bigger "stunted and distorted" and his entire race stripped of the benefits of American citizenship: "a separate nation ... held captive *within* this nation, devoid of political, social, economic, and property rights" (*NS* 388, 397). (As the following pages will show, a similar statement could be made about the impoverished people documented by Agee/Evans in *Famous Men*.) Wright also exposes the workings of governmentality. During the course of Bigger's terrified flight from the authorities, newspaper headlines scream of vicious sex crimes, a deranged and demented killer on the loose, a dire threat to the public's safety. Frantic reports perpetrated by the media are based on unfounded rumours and lies that the State's Attorney cannot prove. Fear mongering incites mob hysteria, which demands repressive government action, creating in turn massive executive over-reaction. In Bigger's case, administrative officials "deliberately inflamed the public mind to the point where they could not keep the peace without martial law" (*NS* 385). The immediate result is a "cordon of five thousand police ... thrown around the Black Belt," augmented by "more than three thousand volunteers," angry crowds "armed with rifles" seeking vigilante justice, "hundreds of

innocent Negro homes invaded, ... scores of Negroes assaulted upon the streets, ... dozens [tossed] out of their jobs"—all of this "something unheard of in democratic lands" (*NS* 243-44, 385).

Wright makes it clear that these actions are anything but the mark of a civilized society "soberly intent upon seeing that the law is executed." Rather, they are the deliberate strategies of the "mob-masters; the wire-pullers and the frightened; the leaders and their pet vassals," who know that their lives are built upon a "historical deed of wrong against many people, people from whose lives they have bled their leisure and luxury" (*NS* 385-86). As Boris Max argues in his Statement for the Defense, the government and business elites had a vested interest in fanning this fury: "'Why,'" he asks, "'did every agency of communication in the city suddenly spew forth lies, telling our citizens they had to protect what they owned against Bigger Thomas and men like him?'" Max's answer is that the wealthy are motivated by the desire to maintain their social dominance: "'rich people don't want to change things, they'll lose too much'" (*NS* 428); politicians recognize the need to preserve the public peace in order to get themselves re-elected; and the nation relies on a strict regime of control to keep the labouring underclass in place and its own economic position secure (*NS* 428).

Throughout the novel, Bigger feels as if he is "caught up in a vast but delicate machine whose wheels would whir no matter what" (*NS* 370). The mechanics of this "machine" are the multiple discourses that are incessantly in motion, constantly vying or collaborating with one another to dominate the processes of the production of knowledge and control the creation of narratives that determine the social construction of reality. Bigger is forever second-guessing what white people want him to say. He is always expecting to be challenged over his "right to walk" in certain places, and he is constantly adjusting his body language to defer to white expectations. Meeting Mr. Dalton for the first time, Bigger stands "with his knees slightly bent, his lips partly open, his shoulders stooped; ... his eyes [holding] a look that went only to the surface

of things" (*NS* 254, 48). His subjugation is both mental and physical. Bigger's life, beginning to end, is literally boxed in by relations of force imposed by the dominant, racialized discourse. One image after another reinforces this theme: from the suffocating walls of the Thomas' run-down tenement apartment, where in the opening scene a "huge black rat" is stalked, trapped, and killed; to the cordoned-off areas that proscribe the very movements of the city's black population; to the "circle of white faces" looking down on Bigger when he is tracked and captured in the blinding snowstorm that seals off all exits from the city of Chicago; to, finally, the "crushingly real" bars confining him in his cell as he awaits execution (*NS* 5, 269, 423).

Yet, despite the oppression, alienation, and enforced segregation that regulate and condition Bigger's life, it is *contact* between blacks and whites that sets Bigger's tragedy in motion. In a rapidly changing world, new technologies and mass modes of communication have a profound impact upon Bigger's consciousness, his sense of exclusion, and his thwarted attempts to articulate his acute frustration and confusion. As Wright observes, Bigger "is a product of a dislocated society; he is a dispossessed and disinherited man; he is all of this, [yet] he lives amid the greatest possible plenty on earth and he is looking and feeling for a way out" (HB 446-47).

Craig Werner advances the idea that it is the discourses of modernity—film, advertising, and journalism, in particular—which have the most profound effect on shaping cultural reality. Men like Roosevelt and Luce intuitively understood how these mass audience vehicles could be leveraged to the advantage of governmental, corporate, and national interests. As Werner points out, James Joyce also clearly grasped the vast influential possibilities of these modern forms of discourse when he placed advertising salesman Leopold Bloom at the centre of his epic novel, *Ulysses*. "Literary modernism," Werner suggests, "whatever its particular form, takes its place alongside a number of [these] discourses, ... [e]ach of [which can] be viewed as a

signal index of the modern world," and each of which "excludes Afro-American participation almost entirely" (122).

It is through cinema that Bigger is exposed to all the dazzling possibilities the white world has to offer, possibilities that are denied to him completely. The newsreels tantalize him with images of "naughty," smiling, rich, white girls, long cool stretches of inviting blue water, and "close-ups of legs running over the sparkling sands." A second frame follows, this time of a man's legs, "running in pursuit," which in turn dissolves into a final shot of "two pairs of legs standing close together, the girl's legs strain[ing] upward until only the tips of her toes touch [...] the sand" (*NS* 31). This unfolding montage constructs a seemingly smooth and continuous narrative of upper class white life. Meanwhile, the feature film *Trader Horn* depicts scenes filled with pounding African drums and "pictures of naked black men and women whirling in wild dances."[52] These figures reinforce the "primitive" black stereotype that has dictated both Bigger's sense of himself and his understanding of the world from the time "he was a child at his mother's knee" (*NS* 33, 283). The movies, however, are Bigger's escape from the close and cramped reality of his daily existence and "his growing and deepening feeling of hysteria; ... *He longed for a stimulus powerful enough to focus his attention and drain off his energies*" (*NS* 28; emphasis mine). As Henry Luce astutely foresaw, cinematic imagery has the potential power to captivate, soothe, and calm. In Bigger's case, the darkened movie theatre temporarily provides an actual masturbatory outlet for the release of his pent-up sexual desires and frustrations.

Advertising and technology are another constant reminder of the narrow confines of black life and the power of the dominant class. Walking around aimlessly because, "Goddammit, I'm always broke," Bigger scoffs at a "huge colored ... sign board" showing the State's Attorney in his campaign for re-election. "I bet that sonofabitch rakes off a million bucks in graft a year," Bigger thinks, "if I were in his shoes for just one day, I'd *never* have to worry again" (*NS 13)*. The poster makes its

viewers feel they are under constant surveillance: Buckley's "white face ... looked straight at you ... and all the while you were walking and turning ... it kept looking unblinkingly back." One hand lifted, "its index finger point[s] straight out ... at each passer-by." Across the top, in "tall red letters" are the words: YOU CAN'T WIN!" (*NS* 13).[53] Moments later, heading towards the poolroom, Bigger's attention is captivated by a sky-writing plane promoting "Speed Gasoline."[54] "[H]igh up in the air," it is a powerful symbol of all those things that "white boys" can do that he cannot. Bigger is already more than cognizant of the irony that if he "wasn't black," and if he "had some money," and if "they'd let [him] go to that aviation school, [he too] *could* fly a plane" but, as he admits to himself: "[m]aybe they right in not wanting us to fly, ... ['c]ause if I took a plane up I'd take a couple of bombs along and drop-em as sure as hell" (*NS* 17). These two short clips neatly encapsulate Bigger's reality. They also illustrate the way in which cultural "truth" is absorbed from movies, advertisements, magazines, newspapers, and other forms of popular mass culture. Wright's text emphasizes just how deeply these social discourses of confinement and control are ingrained in Bigger's every thought, every move, every interaction, and every waking moment.

In *Native Son*, Wright refuses to allow Bigger's individuality to be subsumed by other discourses. While Wright's text performs the many ways in which the "truth" concerning race is woven into popular narratives and lodged in the public consciousness, it also manages, in a very singular way, to reflect the alternative truths of an African American reality. *Native Son* unsettles the power of prevailing discourses. Wright takes pains to ground his narrative in documentary realism but his novel subverts the standard conventions of the genre. As John Reilly explains, "the premise of realism" is typically what drives the traditional novel:

> The novel classically works in the manner of circumstantial evidence offering its descriptions as the particulars of a given case meant to persuade readers, like a

> jury, that a single valid explanation will connect those particulars into a consecutive story. Even though the matter of a realistic novel is language rather than material evidence, the practice of realistic story-telling conceals the insubstantiality of words, so that they will be taken as concretely referential ... allow[ing] us the pleasurable illusion of sharing "a full and authentic report of human experience." Richard Wright takes advantage of this mimetic quality of narrative fiction to found his novel on a dense web of particularized details that simulate reality, luring readers to read his references not as the conventions they are, but as the equivalent of actuality. ("Voice" 37)[55]

Wright's recounting of Bigger's story relies heavily on statistical research and actual press reports that circulated at the time of the Robert Nixon trial. "Street names, addresses (all located on the actual grid of Chicago's streets), descriptions of building exteriors, and passing references to such contemporary topical matters as the mass transportation system, the city's politics, neighbourhood ethnicity, and the economics of the tenement housing ownership — each of these helps to generate the conviction that the author knows first-hand the city that became the terminus for the massive southern black migration during the first decades of the twentieth century" (Reilly, "Voice" 38).

Positioned as documentary reportage, Wright's novel appears conventional in its formal sequential arrangement and its "superficially consistent third person limited point-of-view" (Reilly, "Voice" 140). Every element of Wright's work, however, confounds readers' expectations. Wright's goal in *Native Son* is, first, to dispel claims to a single, knowable representation of reality. Secondly, but perhaps even more importantly, Wright attempts to convey the devastating psychological impact of racist social forces upon an individual consciousness. Wright's primary interest lies, not in describing the world in which Bigger lives, but in portraying how that world both constructs and collides with Bigger's own inner reality. It is Bigger who is the heart of

the novel. It is Bigger's emotional experience that provides the subject matter, dictates the form, propels the plot, and informs the development of character in *Native Son*.

Arnold Rampersad maintains that the tripartite structure of *Native Son*—Fear, Flight, Fate—brilliantly frames "Wright's instinctive grasp of the elemental starkness of Bigger's life. From Wright's sense of the pulsing instability of Bigger's thoughts and emotions—now flaring with rage and desire, now chilly and brackish with despair and impotence—he fashion[s] the peculiar prose rhythms that dominate the book and make us feel, as readers, that we are sharing in Bigger's moods and thoughts" ("Introduction," *NS* xix). As a central character, Bigger runs completely counter to the usual kind of hero proffered by writers of American fiction. Seldom had there been a novel with "so brutalized and limited a character at its core." Yet, "[r]ather than dismiss Bigger's inner life as unworthy of artistic attention (or social and political attention)," Wright deliberately "evoke[s] and dramatize[s] the sordid, unstable reality of his main character's inner life which matche[s] the sordidness and instability imposed on Bigger by white racism and the deep effects of that racism on black culture" (Rampersad "Introduction," *NS* xix). As Wright himself admits: "I restricted the novel to what Bigger saw and felt, to the limits of his feelings and thought, even when I was conveying more than that to the reader. I had the notion that such a manner of rendering made for a sharper effect, a more pointed sense of the character, his peculiar type of being and consciousness" (HB 459). The picture Wright paints of Bigger is complex, that of a confused and conflicted, multi-dimensional human being. Instead of simply echoing the dominant discourse's stereotypical portrayals of African American men, Wright inverts the process and presents the various representatives of white society as generalized "types," symbols of Bigger's own stunted and distorted view of the world. Wright defends the implausible scene where the whole cast of characters confronts Bigger in prison: "I knew it was unlikely that so many people would ever be allowed to come into

a murderer's cell. But I wanted those people in that cell to elicit a certain important response from Bigger. And so the scene stood" (HB 458).

In an essay entitled "Black Boys and Native Sons," Irving Howe describes Wright's novel as "a work of assault rather than withdrawal; the author," he contends, "yields himself in part to a vision of nightmare ... a kind of expressionist outburst." As a result, he states, Bigger's cowering perception of the world becomes the most vivid and authentic component of the book" (Howe 43).[56] Similarly, Louis Tremaine argues, the function of plot in *Native Son* is to "project images that express Bigger's emotional experience":

> Plot ... brings Bigger into contact ... with all those forces that he most fears and that most challenge his self-understanding.... Like the characters, events in the novel ... consist not of complex concatenations of forces and circumstances but of experience reduced to single emotions projected onto reality and objectified, haunting fantasies become real. The murder of Mary thereby becomes a concentrated, particular experience of fear, the disposal of her body one of dehumanization, the capture of Bigger on the water tower one of utter isolation and victimization.... Bigger feels excluded from the conventional "picture of Creation" which, in his emotional core, he has "killed" and in its place "created a new world for himself." ... This "new world" is reflected in [Wright's] book. ("Dissociated" 47, quoting *NS* 285)

Tremaine goes on to suggest that Bigger's "urge to self-expression ... is a recognition that the conditions of his life exclude the very thing that his being requires: the freedom to express his individual[ity]." Even the narrative voice, he stresses, functions "as an expressionistic projection of Bigger's sensibility" ("Dissociated" 49).

The "Circe"-like, tortured-dream horror of Bigger's world is amplified by the dystopic urban setting of the novel. Craig Werner describes Wright's presentation of

Chicago as "an Afro-American version of Eliot's 'unreal city.'" Wright characterizes Bigger's environment as "an indescribable city, huge, roaring, dirty, noisy, raw, stark, brutal; a city of extremes: torrid summers and sub-zero winters, white people and black people, the English language and strange tongues, foreign born and native born, scabby poverty and gaudy luxury, high idealism and hard cynicism" (HB 453). Wright's portrait of the city, a study of clashing elements, reflects Bigger's psychological state, which is caught between a perpetually "loom[ing]," "mountain[ous]" "white" presence and a "vast pool of inky [black] silence" (*NS* 419, 182).

Wright's use of free indirect discourse, whereby the thoughts of the narrator blend with the thoughts of the protagonist—a subtle way of providing the reader additional insight into a character, revealing thoughts or emotions that the character him-or herself might not be completely aware of or be able to verbalize—is a distinctly modernist technique.[57] So, too, is Wright's choice to render Bigger's inner reality via a series of vivid images incised upon the mind These fragmentary impressions, spliced together, form a cinematic montage depicting the subjugating forces and ominous effects of American racism. Wright refuses to let the anguished details of Bigger's internal reality be obscured. Throughout his text, he strives to recognize Bigger's stature as a human being, to reinforce the importance and inviolability of individual perception and identity. His aim is beautifully expressed in Virginia Woolf's words:

> Let us record the atoms as they fall upon the mind in the order in which they fall, let us trace the pattern, however disconnected and incoherent in appearance, which each sight or incident scores upon the consciousness. Let us not take it for granted that life exists more fully in what is commonly thought big than in what is commonly thought small. ("Modern Fiction," *The Common Reader* 3)

The central objective of Wright's work is to give Bigger a mind. It is only by creating his *own* narrative that Bigger can attain a degree of autonomous agency in the world. As critic James Nagel, commenting on *Native Son* remarks, Bigger's "real tragedy is not death; it is rather the fact of never having been [heard or] seen clearly by anyone" ("Images" 157).

Bigger's profound sense of alienation is closely linked to the problem of language. While he is able to intuit precisely what is demanded of him by white people, Bigger lacks access to the signifying codes by which the officially sanctioned discourses of the dominant class are formed. In the Dalton's home, Bigger encounters a "world utterly different from his own." He is unable to make out the nature of the modernist art that hangs on their walls. He feels confused by their questions: their "long strange words made no sense to him; it was another language" (*NS* 48).[58] As an outsider to the dominant discourse, Bigger has no voice, no language with which to speak: "he ... lived outside of the lives of men. Their modes of communication, their symbols and images, had been denied him" (*NS* 422).

Bigger suffers from an inability to communicate his own inner conflicted reality. In sheer frustration, he struggles to find the means to explain himself, to express the suppressed hatred and rage he feels at being made subservient to all the discourses that have shaped, conditioned, defined and smothered him. Words repeatedly escape Bigger: "he tried to open his mouth to answer, but could not. Even if he had had the power of speech, he did not know what he could have said" (*NS* 417). Entrapped in a network of power politics, Bigger feels as if he is "living in jail": he "long[s] to talk;" to "free himself"; he tries to think of answers that would defy the people who "rule and regulate life," to let them know that "he had a world and life of his own in spite of them" (*NS* 20, 26, 428, 297). As Reilly observes:

> [a] major consequence of Wright's redrafting the contract of realistic fiction so that Bigger's consciousness [becomes] the central element [is] the opportunity to construct the narrative as an evolving content of stories — some inchoate, others partially completed before they are set aside or trumped by another tale, ... all of them qualifying and redrawing the portrait of Bigger Thomas until the novel makes room for Bigger to speak for himself. ("Voice" 50)

It is interesting to note that in much the same way that Wright accords Bigger the right to speak, Foucault, in his text *I, Pierre Rivière*, deliberately makes space for Rivière to tell his own story.

Bigger's harrowing experience begins with an accidental murder committed because he can see literally no way out of a situation that would make him the scapegoat for a horrific crime and condemn him to almost certain death. Elemental fear escalates into frantic flight, followed by a series of desperate attempts at survival, which force Bigger to kill again. Bigger's actions only further incite the public "mob's" thirst for blood. Yet, it also begins to empower Bigger. For the first time in his wretched existence, his behaviour becomes linked with what he himself feels. Driven to the limits of human endurance, knowing that in the eyes of society, he is "black, unequal, and despised," he begins to push back against the racist discourses that have constructed his identity, constrained his movements, and made his life intolerable (*NS* 275). It is finally his defense attorney, Max, who provides the impetus and framework for Bigger to narrate his own history. Max's promise of a psychiatric examination to prove his client is criminally not responsible triggers Bigger's angry and vehement response:

> He was not crazy and he did not want to be called crazy.
>
> "I don't want to go to no hospital.... I don't want no way out." (*NS* 309)

What Bigger did, he realizes, he did for a purpose. It was a lashing out against the dominant classes that "make the laws" and "own everything"—they "choke you off the face of the earth ... like God ... kill[ing] you before you die"—and the discursive processes that tell you, "[y]ou ain't a man no more," all you can do is "dig ditches, ... wash dishes and scrub the floor...." (*NS* 353). As he protests,

> "They draw a line and say for you to stay on your side of the line. They don't care if there's no bread over on your side. They don't care if you die.... White men say we black men ... rape white women ... [to] get rid of the clap. They *believe* that. Jesus, Mr. Max, when folks say things like that about you, you whipped before you born." (*NS* 351)

Bigger's account of his personal experience, the "explanation of his entire life," that he provides Max, lays bare the depressing reality of black life in America (*NS* 308).

Bigger succeeds, at last, in understanding and articulating the reasons for his actions, shocking even Max when he asserts his agency and admits the monstrosity of his crimes:

> "They wouldn't let me live and I killed.... I reckon I really didn't want to kill. But when I think of why all the killing was, I begin to feel what I wanted, what I am.... [W]hat I killed for, I am! It must've been pretty deep in me to make me kill! When a man kills it's for something.... I didn't know I was really alive in this world until I felt things hard enough to kill for 'em...." (*NS* 428-29)

As Howe and other critics argue, Bigger appears to have established his own imperturbable sense of individuality, having contested the received beliefs of society and having refused the identity imposed upon him by racist discourse. John Reilly, for one, contends that the fact that "Bigger's words are left to stand alone without authorial commentary [is a sign] that in this novel dedicated to the dramatization of a black man's consciousness the subject has finally found his own unqualified incontrovertible voice" (60).[59] This view is reinforced by the image of Max backing

away in horror, unable to respond to Bigger's chilling testimony. Wright, however, allows for no such certainty. A Foucauldian interpretation would suggest the bleak alternative that there is, in the end, never any total escape from subjection. In the final words of the novel, as Max retreats silently down the long prison corridor, Bigger, awaiting execution, hears only "the ring of steel against steel as a far door clang[s] shut" (*NS* 430).

Wright's novel creates an intimate and complex portrait of Bigger Thomas. Its series of vivid scenes and images record Bigger's emotional response to the reality of his lived experience in all its real-time chaos, confusion, and contradiction. Similarly, *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men* meticulously documents not only the actual living conditions of the three tenant farmer families but also the impact which the powers that shape their existence have on their bodies and minds. The first sixty-four pages of Agee and Evans's text are devoted exclusively to a selection of Walker Evans's haunting black-and-white photographs of the family members, their drought-stricken farms, and their surrounding environment in "deep south" Alabama. Evans's photographs speak volumes about the individuals and their world. As David Denby expresses it, "the point" for Agee and Evans was "not that these families were subjected to terrible, unthinkable social conditions. The point was that they existed":

> In an age concerned largely with the "masses," Agee was impressed by the notion that other human beings idiosyncratically are what they are, in every ornery fibre. Flesh, bone, desire, consciousness—in almost every way, the farmers were different ... obdurate in their singleness. ("A Famous Man" 2)

Evans's images convey the profound sense of respect that he and Agee shared for the subjects of their work—those whom they considered persons—each independent and unique, each a true and equal citizen in his or her own right. The authors' overriding concern in *Famous Men* is to honour these people as "pre-social" human beings—assuming there is such a thing—while acknowledging the awful distorting and

de-humanizing effects of power politics on their lives. Foucault, of course, would deny the notion of a "pre-social" being. His argument is that all human identity is constructed in discourse and power-knowledge relations.

Evans's achingly beautiful pictures are deeply moving precisely because of their stark and striking simplicity. Presented without preface, captions, or pagination, they speak for themselves. Several are portraits in which the person photographed stares out at the viewer, confronting the camera fixedly, directly, unflinchingly (Figs. 1-4). These have a startling immediacy about them. The sharecroppers' eyes, "which are such gentle eyes" (*FM* 283), remain both guarded and watchful. Their gaunt but resilient faces are lined and worn, weary with "bitten-in mouth(s) and sun-narrowed eyes" (Trilling 100), their bodies, thin and "sharpened through with bone": the men's, "knotted like oakwood," the women's, "veined at the breast ... translucent, delicately shriveled," their children's feet, "hardskinned and gritty ... crusted with sores" (*FM* 52, Figs. 5-8). Writing in the *New York Times* "Sunday Review," Lawrence Downes notes that Evans would allow his subjects to compose themselves for the camera, "the way rich people would" for a formal portrait. Evans's photos "of the interiors of their shacks, even of their worn-out boots," he observes, "have the formal balance and beauty of Dutch paintings [Figs. 9, 10]. And yet their faces show they [are] clearly and utterly defenseless" ("Of Poor Farmers" 2). Even as they expose the harsh realities of the sitters' lives, Evans's photographs protect their privacy and dignity.

Shots of the farmers foreground the raggedness but also the quiet nobility of their clothes—overalls that have the "beauties ... [of] those of a blueprint ... a map of a working man" and "unbelted" dresses made of "fertilizer sacks" held together at the breast "with a small snarl of shoelace" (*FM* 235, 244-45; Figs. 11-14). Pictures of ramshackle buildings, lean-to kitchens, rooms containing nothing but an old wood-stove, a broken chair, and a few metal pots, or a simple oil-clothed table with a kerosene lamp, attest to the extreme poverty these people endure (Figs. 15-18).

Evans's photographs suggest the crushing pressures of brutal daily work cycles: still-life sketches of bent bodies, bandaged feet, skeletal torsos, flanked at the end by the image of a humble headstone on an unadorned grave (Figs. 19-22). They also, however, imply the damaging weight of society, the oppression and suffering the sharecroppers have sustained at the hands of government and its self-serving economic and political systems. Heavily harnessed horses reinforce the idea of their subjugation, while boarded-up windows, walls, and vertical iron bars on their bedframes convey a sense of imprisonment (Figs. 23-26).

On the other hand, a gaping hole in a stone fireplace exposes them to the outside elements (Fig. 27); automobiles, railway tracks, hydro poles, postal offices, and petrol stations suggest the incursion of the modern world into homes that as yet have no electricity or running water (Figs. 28-30). Evans emphasizes this clash of cultures and the differences between classes in his juxtaposition of elements such as horse-drawn carts and motorized vehicles (Figs. 31-32). The penetration and influence of social discourses such as advertising, business, technology, education, religion, medicine, and the law are evoked in photos showing corporate-brand products, billboards touting tonics, cold, fever, and other instant health remedies, and (ironically) signs promoting Ringling Brothers' and Barnum and Bailey circuses (Figs. 33-34). These sit alongside images of churches, dark dilapidated one-room schoolhouses, government offices, and an arresting photo of the courthouse's stern Doric columns and imposing brick façade (Figs. 35-38). The Ricketts's fireplace wall displays a collection of calendars, comic strips, advertisements, and magazine covers (Fig. 39), which Agee later describes in extravagant detail, implying that reaching into these remote rural areas, these new forms of communication create an inexhaustible desire for abundance.[60] Like all that Bigger Thomas yearns for in *Native Son*, these cultural artifacts become the symbols of a lack of equality and of the life that these destitute sharecroppers will always be denied.

In his 1942 review, Lionel Trilling suggests that *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men* raises an issue of profound moral importance. "It poses this question":

> How may we — "we" being the relatively fortunate middle class that reads books and experiences emotions — how may we feel about the underprivileged?.... the word itself proclaims the difficulty.... You cannot be cool about misery so intense.... Christian pity is not enough. Liberal concern and good will are hopeless; lack of passion is an insult. (Trilling 99)[61]

Trilling sums up Agee's dilemma: how was he to write about these Alabama people without betraying them? Fascinatingly, he concludes, "for Evans, or at least for Evans with his camera, the problem did not exist." This was because, unlike so many other socially conscious documentary photographers of the 1930s—whose work often seemed "false in its emphases, shallow in its distortions, bathetical in its sentiments, ... and sentimental in its simplicities"—Evans had an exceedingly light touch. Trilling describes this as Evan's unerring sense of "*taste*," taking that word "in its largest possible sense to mean tact, delicacy, justness of feeling, complete awareness and perfect respect" (Trilling 100).

Evans, who was born in 1903 in St. Louis and grew up in Toledo, Chicago, and New York, was the son of an advertising director. His first love was French literature, which he studied in college before moving to France, where (like T. S. Eliot) he attended lectures at the Sorbonne and became caught up in "the full force of modernist Paris." As Andrei Codrescu observes, "the stubborn pull of aesthetic modernism is ever-present in all [Evans's] work" (*Signs* 2).[62] It was in the mid-twenties that Evans began taking pictures. Back in New York, his first published photographs appeared in Hart Crane's 1930 book of poetry, entitled *The Bridge*. While working on this project, Codrescu notes, Evans learned something of the tension between stillness and the seeming flux of the moving picture. In the early thirties, Evans's Manhattan photographs reveal a fascination with signs and billboard

advertisements: their fragments of image and language, the symbols of modern America. From 1935 to 1937, Evans worked for Roy Stryker at the Resettlement Administration and the FSA, temporarily taking on the *Fortune* assignment with Agee in the summer of 1936. In 1945, he joined the permanent staff of *Fortune*, where he worked for twenty years until he was appointed Professor of Photography at Yale University. Evans died in New Haven, Connecticut in 1975. That same year MoMA, which had awarded him the first ever one-man photographic exhibition in 1938, mounted a retrospective of his work.[63]

Allred notes that Evans is widely considered to be "the exception to the excesses of Depression-era culture, the rare artist who remained faithful to art in an era in which aesthetics was subordinated to politics." He goes on to suggest, however, that although it may be true that "Evans was less inclined than his peers to hew to the line of Roy Stryker, it is not the case that Evans devoted himself solely to an aesthetics of 'humanity' in the sublime mode":

> On the contrary, most of Evans's work throughout the period, is if anything antisublime in its focus on the vulgar materials of an emergent modernity. Furthermore, a transcendent "humanity," whatever that might be, is much less in evidence in his work than a vision of particular humans conditioned by particular social and historical pressures.... Most of Evan's best work ... [reminds the reader] that even mere "documents" can be dialectical images. (Allred 113)

Among the many photo-documentary books published in the thirties, Agee/Evans's *Famous Men* can be most usefully compared with Margaret Bourke-White and Erskine Caldwell's *You Have Seen Their Faces*, published in 1937. Interestingly, the latter was the only commercially successful photo-text book of the period and it came "not from government-sponsored photography but from the faster-paced world of photo-journalism" (Mayer, "Famous" 2).

In summer 1936, the same year Agee and Evans were sent to Alabama, Caldwell and Bourke-White embarked on a two year, 3,500 mile tour of the Deep South, travelling the backroads with the mission of documenting sharecroppers' living conditions. Their book was an instant national best-seller, but it "lacked veracity and exploited the documentary mode" (Mayer, "Famous" 2). Bourke-White's photos were theatrically posed and Caldwell admitted to having made up some of the quotations that accompanied them. Stott reports that Agee and Evans were infuriated by the work, which they deemed "a double outrage: propaganda, for one thing, and profit-making out of both propaganda and the plight of the tenant farmers" (Evans qtd. in conversation with the author, *Documentary* 222). In his "Note on the Photographs" that forms part of the "Appendices" to *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men*, Agee includes a scathing (perhaps overly harsh and condescending) attack on Bourke-White and the vacuous comments she was said to have made about the poor Southerners she photographed. Agee charges Bourke-White with barging her way in to the homes of African Americans, share-croppers, and tenant farmers, taking advantage of her subjects, even going so far as bribing them on occasion.[64]

Agee also railed against all those documents of the era that extolled the utopian aspects of technological change. As Allred's research shows, books such as Charles and Mary Beard's *The Rise of American Civilization* (1930) and government reports such as *The Hoover Commission on Social Trends* (1933) celebrated the way that the emergent forces of industrialization were reorganizing the national landscape, extending new modes of living to even the remotest of places.[65] Modern technologies and urban standards, values, and practices were beginning to "permeate the most intimate areas of private life: the home, the family ... even the individual body and mind." Narratives of "centralization and rationalization ... increasingly welcomed rural dwellers into a liberal polity characterized by material

abundance, cultural diversity, and social services provided by a new class of professional experts" (Allred 108). Sadly, though, it was the people who suffered most from the Depression who benefitted least from the country's industrial and commercial growth. Agee's text contests the homogenizing discourses of nationalism, the patronizing and superior attitudes of the dominant class, and what he believed was the deep disgrace and injustice of misguided governmental policies. Agee's work subverts then-contemporary conventions of the documentary genre, which was the foundation of so many of these false and misleading narratives. In writer/historian Henry Mayer's words: Agee himself regarded *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men* as "a dangerous work" precisely because "it defied the prevailing political rhetoric, challenged benevolent assumptions about reform and prompted moral inquiry about the relationship between benefactors and the people they sought to serve. Far from being the representative documentary work of its era, the book stands instead as a bleak and sceptical coda to it" ("Famous" 3).

Let Us Now Praise Famous Men can be read as an extended meditation on what constitutes citizenship, freedom, equality, and basic human rights. In an early scene, Agee makes it clear that the southern sharecroppers are subjects of the state. Driving through the countryside, he and Evans stop to ask directions of three people on a porch. Agee's description provides a vivid snapshot of the terrible reality of their existence. The older man, mentally disabled, was "just a mouth." The young man "had the asthma so badly it nearly killed him....[I]t was his wife did the work":

> They were clients of Rehabilitation. They had been given a young steer to do their plowing with; the land was woods-clearing, but had been used as long as the house (whose wood was ragged and light as pith); no seed or fertilizer had been given them until the end of May. Nothing they had planted was up better than a few inches and that was ... withering faster than it grew. They now owed the Government on the seed and fertilizer; the land, the tools, the

> house, and probably before long on the steer as well, who was ... so weak he could hardly stand. (*FM* 31-32)

As Agee approaches, he is struck by the certainty that they regard him "as a spy sent to betray them through trust": "There was in their eyes so quiet and ultimate a quality of hatred, and contempt, and anger, toward every creature in existence beyond themselves, and toward the damages they sustained" (*FM* 31, 30).

Much of Agee's text is taken up with a detailed examination of the fundamental necessities of these poor people's lives. Agee catalogues in depth the basic elements that should compose the inalienable right of every citizen of the nation, every human being on the planet: clothing, shelter, education, and work. Whatever rudimentary forms of these the tenants have, they are barely sufficient for subsistence. In the end, these hapless people exist solely, it seems, on "their indignant strength not to perish" (*FM* 202):

> Gudger has no home, no land, no mule; none of the more important farming implements. He must get all of these of his landlord [whom he pays] back with his labor and with the labor of his family. (*FM* 101)

Gudger is what is known as a "half-cropper" or "sharecropper." He owns nothing. Everything he needs he is furnished by the landowner, to whom he must pay half his crop. The Woods and the Ricketts are tenants who, because they own some animals and tools, "give over to their landlord only one-third of their cotton and one-fourth of their corn." All live on ration advances until harvest-time, when they are expected to pay their landlords back at usurious rates of interest. The system leaves them hopelessly and permanently in debt, with no possible means of escape. Government programs are withheld: "WPA work is available to very few tenants: they are technically, employed, and thus have no right to it" (*FM* 102, 106). There is no direct relief for the ill, the infirm, the widowed, or the elderly. Shelters take the form of leaky roofs and walls that admit wind, dirt, dust, and insects; bed-bug ridden single

bedrooms sleep entire families. Everything is permeated with the odours of "cooking," "sweat," "sleep," "bedding," "breathing," "urine," "mildew," and "death"—smells "so clinging that they stand out softly [even] of the fibres of newly laundered clothes" (*FM* 136).

Agee violently condemns the education system in Alabama public schools. Mercifully, he claims, the tenants, by economic necessity, "are generally subjected only to a few years of it" (*FM* 256). The teachers, most of whom are women (to whom the profession is "either an incident of their youth or a poor solution for their spinsterhood") are "saturated in every belief and ignorance which is basic in their country and their community." They are bound to "a system of requirements officially imposed on them; and are caught between the pressures of class, of the state, of the churches, and of the parents, and are confronted by minds already so deeply formed that to liberate them would involve uncommon and as yet perhaps undiscovered philosophic and surgical skill" (*FM* 257). The curriculum offers nothing practical or particularly relevant to the tenants' lives. There is "no setting before the students of 'economic' or 'social' or 'political' 'facts' [or] of their situation within these 'facts,' no attempt ... to clarify or even slightly relieve the situation between the white and negro races, far less to explain the sources, no attempt to clarify psychological situations in the individual, in his family, or in his world, no attempt to get beneath and to revise those 'ethical' and 'social' pressures and beliefs in which even a young child is trapped" (*FM* 258). Agee characterizes government education as "an intention which presumes itself to be good," but he exposes it as a "murderous" instrument, merely a means of protecting power and the status quo (*FM* 259).

Much of *Famous Men* is an indictment. Passages that describe the endless drudgery of the tenants' days stress the callous manner in which power operates to keep people in their place. Contemplating "the plainness and iterativeness" of a

woman's work, which he states is "only one among the many processes of wearying effort which make the shape of each one of her living days," Agee asks:

> how is it to be calculated, the number of times she has done these things, the number of times she is still to do them; how conceivably in words is it to be given as it is in actuality, *the accumulated weight of these actions upon her; and what this cumulation has made of her body; and what it has made of her mind and of her heart and of her being.* (*FM* 282-83; emphasis mine)

In *Discipline and Punish*, Foucault—citing Léon Faucher who, in 1837, drew up a brutal daily "time-table" and "rules 'for the House of young prisoners in Paris'"—makes observations (very similar to Agee's) about the way in which power or "a certain penal style" functions.[66] Foucault's point, like Agee's, is that obligatory labour can be an effective means of discipline, a subtle method of exercising control.

Agee's emotive descriptions of the men's work overalls, which over time soften and mould to their physical frames, suggest the way in which, over time, their bodies and minds are steadily shaped in discourse. The utilitarian nature of these garments implies that the farmers are little more than beasts of burden: "in the strapping across the kidneys" their work uniform resembles "a harness." The "functional pocketing of [its] bib" seems "modified to the convenience of a used animal of such high intelligence that he has use for tools" (*FM* 235). The "dull and heartless" routine of the tenants' lives involves back-breaking labour, "in which one's strength [is] used for another man's benefit." Work is the "centre of all their existence ... by which they have their land, their shelter, their living," that which proffers "no reward more than this, *because they do not own themselves*" (*FM* 282, 286; emphasis mine). What these people appear to feel toward their lives is "a particular automatism, a quiet, apathetic, and inarticulate yet deeply vindictive hatred, and at the same time utter hopelessness." It was as if the cotton plant that was their livelihood "stood enormous in the unsteady sky fastened above them in all

they do like the eyes of an overseer" (*FM* 289).[67] In these lines, one can feel Agee's principled, deeply Christian rage.

Like Bigger Thomas, the tenants are the subjects of discourse, their identities defined and proscribed by the way in which others see them or, perhaps more appropriately, "pin" them in their sights. In *Famous Men*, a chorus of voices similar to the ones in Bigger's prison cell represents the various forms of public and institutional response to the grim realities of crippling poverty. These attitudes range from patronizing to pious:

> "Ricketts? They're a bad lot." "They've got Miller blood mixed up in them."...
>
> "Why, Ivy Pritchert was one of the worst whores in this whole part of the country: only one that was worse was her own mother. They're about the lowest trash you can find."...
>
> "None of these people has any sense, nor any initiative. If they did, they wouldn't be farming on shares."
>
> "Give them money and all they'll do with it is throw it away."
>
> "Why, times when I envy them. No risk, we take all the risk; all the clothes they need to cover them; food coming up right out of their land.... Tell you the honest truth, they owe us a big debt. Now you just tell me, if you can, what would all those folks be doing if it wasn't for us?" (*FM* 71)

This litany of voices resolves at the end of the passage into a quote from the scriptures, Matthew 5:3-12: "Blessed are the poor in spirit ... Blessed are they which are persecuted for righteousness' sake; for ... great is [their] reward in heaven" (*FM* 73). Religion is little more than a salve, the text implies, a way of taming the unruly masses and disciplining them as well.

Agee's religion, however, is devoted to the sanctity of the individual. Reflecting upon the procreative function of the human race, he observes:

> A man and a woman are drawn together upon a bed and there is a child and there are children:
>
> > First they are mouths, then they become *auxiliary instruments of labor*: later they are drawn away, and become the fathers and mothers of children, who shall become the fathers and mothers of children: ... this is the weaving of human living: of whose fabric each individual is a part: ... not one of these ... persons is ever quite to be duplicated, nor replaced, nor has it ever quite had precedent: but each is a new and incommunicably tender life. (*FM* 50-51; emphasis mine)[68]

These lines are reminiscent of verses from the Bible—the long catalogues of names and "begats" in Genesis: 10, 11 that chronicle the generations of Noah and the ancestry of Abraham. Significantly, these lists suggest the importance of lineage and belonging to a tribe, contrasting cursed bloodlines with those of supposedly worthy ancestors. This is one of Agee's ironic ways of commenting disparagingly on the official discourses of religion.

While Agee insists on the uniqueness of each human being and the sanctity of all life, his purpose is to show how, from the time of its birth, the impoverished infant is "wounded in every breath," only able to "sustain... for awhile, without defense, the enormous assaults of the universe" (*FM* 51). Agee's "business" is to reveal how this living entity, "through every instant of every day of every year of his existence alive ... is from all sides streamed inward upon, bombarded, pierced, destroyed by that enormous sleeting of all objects forms and ghosts how great how small no matter, which surround and whom his senses take" (*FM* 97). Throughout this person's life, overwhelming powers work to subject him or her:

> these globular damagements are of many kinds and degrees and colors and of an infinite talent for deceit: being of as many kinds as that particular set of senses and that particular intelligence at their heart can perceive and can

> receive and can react to and reflect upon: all that is "physical," all that is of the "mind," all that is of the "emotions," all that is of the "economic" and the "mental" and the "glandular" and the "medical" predicament, all that is of "belief," and is of "habit," and is of "morality," and is of "fear," "pride," need of "love," "warmth," "approbation," all that is attached in the "meanings" of 'ideas," "words," "actions," "things," "symbols": all these apart, *all these in orchestral complex wherein they interlock, interform one another, and conspire in their companionship still sharper fiercer stricter subtler more bonebiting traps and equations of destruction than is in the power of any one or five of them independent of one another.*
>
> *Here ... in the midst of all these is this human creature, born, awaiting their touch...* (*FM* 93-4; emphasis mine)[69]

Like Foucault, Agee chronicles how, from the very point of conception, "already the globe is rounded upon [this creature] and is his prison," and from that moment forward, "*his* death, *his* destroying, ... is quiet, subtle, continuous, very slow, in quite great part deluded, ... his foes being of this silent, insinuous, and masked kind, and he void of all skill against" (*FM* 92). Agee's sense of fatalism seems to match that of Bigger Thomas in *Native Son*.

A Foucauldian network seems woven into the very imagery and analogies Agee employs to describe the operations of power and the subjugation of people:

> Each plant that fluted up in long rows out of the soil was native to its particular few square inches of rootage, ... and each tree ... [with] its own particular existence and personality, stood up branching out of its special space in the spreading of its blood, and stayed there waiting, a marked man, a tree: *as different as the difference between a conducted tour of a prison and the first hours there as a prisoner*. (*FM* 360-61; emphasis mine)

These lines demonstrate Agee's grasp of how power-knowledge relations operate in a carceral society. Like Foucault and Wright, Agee takes a damning view of government, its motives, and methods. His denunciation of the inequalities and presumptions upon which the nation and its discourses are founded is stinging and sardonic: "Even what seem to us our present soundest and most final ideas of justice are noticeably cavalier and provincial and self-centered":

> What ... have [we] to think of hogs who, having managed to secure justice among themselves, still and continuously and without the undertone of a thought to the contrary exploited every other creature and material of the planet, and who wore in their eyes, perfectly undisturbed by any second consideration, the high and holy light of science or religion. (*FM* 220)

On the other hand, long flowing, Whitmanesque passages extolling individuals, like the "young woman with black hair" in Evans's photograph, as "single, unrepeatable, and holy" human beings, metamorphose into descriptions of "the two billion human creatures ... alive upon the planet today; ... the huge swarm and majority [of which] are made and acted upon as she is." Agee asks the reader to imagine this "one" great "annihilating chord" (*FM* 283).[70] A final image containing Joycean overtones emphasizes the homogenizing power of nationalist discourse to mould these people into one undifferentiated and imprisoned mass: "[A]ll over the country, the long dark silent sleeping rains stream down in such grieving as nothing shall ever stop, ... the houses are cold fragile drums, ... the animals tremble, ... *the clay is one shapeless sea*, and winter has shut" (*FM* 307; emphasis mine).[71]

The great ethical quandary that Agee faces in *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men* is how to depict the tenant farmers in a way that does them honour, that is respectful, and that accords them a status equal to every other citizen of the country. The overriding question for Agee is how to give proper literary and political

representation to these people who have no voice, who lack all but the most basic of human necessities, and to whom the right to citizenship has effectively been denied. Despite the bleak prospects of ever being able to succeed in this endeavour, Agee retains a vision of a nation that comprises, like a symphony, a beautiful and soaring blend of singular, unmerged voices. Deep into the night, listening to the breathing of each sleeping family member, Agee feels it was "*as if they were music I were hearing, each voice in relation to all the others, and all audible, singly, and as one organism*, and a music that cannot be communicated" (*FM 52)*.

Agee was not interested in making his book a call for reform. His motives, rather, were to dispute the dominant discourses of the day, to disrupt their overarching ideological narratives (particularly those of identity and nation), to condemn the vested interests of government and the ruling class, and to refute readers' smug ideas "of poverty viewed at a distance" (*FM* 11). In the final pages of *Famous Men*, Agee recounts how he and Evans lay in the darkness on the farmer's porch listening to the voices of two foxes calling deep into the night. The sound of the animals' calls goes through any number of rhythmic variations and, for the listeners, its meanings are continually changing. "Every note [is] sharply, dryly, cleanly accented." The voices are, at intervals, "sexual," "casual," "challenging," "warning;" an "effort at mutual location; "most intense and masterful irony;" "laughter," "triumph," "a masterpiece of parody of any one, any combination of all [their] assigned and implicit tones: but at all times it was beyond even the illusion of full apprehension, and was noble, frightening and distinguished: a work of great, private and unambitious art which was irrelevant to audience" (*FM* 412). The vignette suggests the way in which Agee's text as a whole operates: a manner unlike that of almost any other literary work.

Let Us Now Praise Famous Men is dense, diffuse, and difficult. It is also beautiful, long-winded, free-flowing, and lyrical. It generates a feeling of great creative

force. Agee's tone shifts from angry, proselytizing, and grandiloquent to humble, self-questioning, and self-flagellating. In David Denby's words, it is "the mixture of piety and blasphemy that makes Agee's fiction so moving" ("A Famous Man" 7). The book's style is impossible to pin down. It is both experimental and photographic (it forms pictures out of words, describing objects the way a camera would capture them, in incredibly fine detail); it is impressionistic and documentary; part verse, part theatrical play, including even an "Intermission" which takes up a "*Conversation in the Lobby*" (*FM* 309). Like a Cubist painting, it explores its subject from multiple angles.

By Agee's own admission, the writing is unfinished, a "volume designed in two intentions: as the beginning of a larger piece of work: and to stand of itself, independent of any such further work as may be done" (*FM* x). There is the difficulty of getting started and the difficulty of closure. (An opening preface precedes a quote, a slogan, a recitation from a schoolbook, a list of the cast of characters, and an outline of the design of the book. These are followed by "verses," a "preamble," and an opening inscription.) Agee places himself in the midst of his text, openly discussing his challenges, doubts, emotions, beliefs, even his deeply personal sexual desires and suicidal thoughts. He worries repeatedly about his "inablility to create an organic, mutually sustaining and dependent, and as it were musical, form" but he "remind[s] himself that the centres of [his] subject are shifty" (*FM* 8). The people in Agee's book "are not specimens under a microscope, used to make a point" (Reardon, "Poverty" 7). Agee never aspires to "documentary realism" in the social or political sense, nor does he attempt aesthetic resolution. His goal, rather, is the *faithful representation* of the people of whom he writes. Referring to the enormity of this duty, Agee cautions it must be carried out with the utmost of "respect" and "responsibility":

> The communication is not by any means ... simple. It seems to me that to contrive techniques appropriate to it in the first place, and capable of planting it cleanly in others, in the second, would be a matter of years. (*FM* 6, 10)

His objective is to create a register of these unrecognized people and their lives: "Ultimately, it is intended that this record and analysis be exhaustive, with no detail, however trivial it may seem, left untouched.... Of this ultimate intention," Agee asserts, "the present volume is merely portent and fragment" (*FM* x, xi).[72]

Let Us Now Praise Famous Men critiques and subverts most of the standard conventions of journalism and photo-documentary. One of the principles of good journalism is that it be objective. Agee shows the very idea of objectivity to be a lie. He never positions himself as a neutral or omniscient reporter. He refuses to sell out to the profit motive. Echoing Virginia Woolf, but using militarized terms, Agee argues, "[a] good artist is a deadly enemy of society; and the most dangerous thing that can happen to an enemy, no matter how cynical, is to become a beneficiary" (*FM* 314).[73] He displays none of the discipline required to write formulaic, fixed-length newspaper or magazine articles. Instead, as a number of critics have suggested, Agee has composed a "prose-poem," one that lacks restraint and breaks the rules of content, grammar, form, and function. Foregrounding the writing process, he starts with "a great many nervous and defiant disclaimers." He berates his readers, provides copious side-commentary, and often breaks into "feverish personal narrative" (Denby 9). Sentences frequently run on for pages; his use of colons and semi-colons is egregious, and his words rain down in torrents. Agee undertakes the seemingly impossible: "to say: to say," who is this person:

> what is his house, for whom does he work: under what arrangements and in what results: what is this work: who is he and where from, that he is now here; what is it his life has been and has done to him: what of his wife and of their children, each, for all of these each is a life, a full universe: what are their clothes: what food is theirs to eat: what is it which is in their senses and their minds: what is the living and manner of their day, of a season, of a year: what, inward and outward, is their manner of living; of their spending and usage of

> these few years' openness out of the black vast and senseless death; what is their manner of life:
>
> > All this... should be listed, calculated, analyzed, conjectured upon, as if all in one sentence and spread suspension and flight or fugue of music: and that I shall not be able so to sustain it, so to sustain its intensity toward this center human life, so to yield it out that it all strikes inward upon this centre at once and in all its intersections and in the meanings of its interrelations and interenhancements: it is this which so paralyzes me: yet one can write only one word at a time. (*FM* 97-8)

Agee feels compelled to make endless "lists and inventories" as part of his attempt to convey the realities of the tenant farmers' lives. While he often despairs of success, he consistently refuses to give up, either on that "thing so strong, so valiant, so unvanquishable ...[that] it shall at length outshine the sun" *or* that "universe of things which should be accepted and recorded for its own sake" (*FM* 390, 412).

Agee understands precisely the dangers inherent in his endeavour. Like his forgotten subjects, who exist either outside the polity of the nation or are co-opted by nationalist discourse, Agee's work is either "irrelevant to audience" or assimilated and appropriated by the dominant culture (*FM* 466). "Above all else," Agee implores his audience, "in God's name don't think of it as Art":

> Every fury on earth has been absorbed in time, as art, or as religion, or as authority in one form or another. The deadliest blow the enemy of the human soul can strike is to do fury honor.... Official acceptance is the one unmistakable symptom that salvation is beaten again, and is the one surest sign of fatal misunderstanding, and is the kiss of Judas. (*FM* 12)

While, like Wright, Agee recognizes that the forces of governmentality have endlessly creative and cunning ways of adapting themselves to protect their domain, he nonetheless sustains faith in the right of each and every human being to unfettered

existence and self-expression. Wright's and Agee/Evans's works resist closure. Both texts insist on nurturing a fragile belief in the person and the tenuous hope of building a nation where citizenship is not just about politics; it is instead about justice and everyone's equal power to participate.[74]

IV. Conclusion

There are powerful lessons to be learned from history. In their notes to Pierre Rivière's account of his triple murder in *I, Pierre Rivière*, Foucault and his researchers outline the historical events that led up to the killings. While the circumstances of the French peasant farmer before and after the Revolution of 1789 do not parallel precisely those of African American plantation workers before and after the Civil War, or those of white tenant sharecroppers of the southern states during the Depression, Foucault's text exhibits some striking similarities:

> The French countryside had for ages suffered under the three-fold taxation of the lord of the manor, the Church, and the king. The peasants were drained to husks shivering in the slightest breeze. The customary result of peasant risings was to adorn the trees with bunches of the hanged for the police to harvest. (*IPR* 176-77)

Following the French Revolution, the peasants in the countryside "placed great hopes in the legal liberation which they believed they had gained: equality of rights, status as citizens." Finally being "'free and equal in law,'" they were entitled to make contracts and "peasant life thereafter was invested in the contract" (*IPR* 179-80). These contracts, however, turned out to be "not a guarantee, but a snare, ... a trick, an institutionalized assault" (*IPR* 178, 181). The poor simply exchanged "servitude" for "bestial freedom" (*FM* 90). It was the landowners, the professionals, and the middle-classes that reaped all the benefit:

> On the one side extortion; on the other the immediacy and weight of power.

> The contracts made [the people] serfs or, more recently, sharecroppers, they annulled the human being....
>
> [I]t was certainly here [that] the order of the new liberal society mounted its control apparatus —the contract, the desire for property, the work incentive engendered by them— to control and perpetuate hierarchies and inequality, but now under the false pretense of a relation 'voluntarily' accepted. Here it was that power worked in secret. (*IPR* 178, 180)

The "new deal" was not really new at all; "What called itself order was a lie." For the peasants,

> [t]he truth [was] that nothing had changed. Animals they remained;... The compassionate doctors continued to give detailed accounts of their monstrosities, invariably ascribing them to evil nature.... [T]he discourse of ascendancy had not shifted. The [desperate poor] were as alienated as they could be—beast or things, something close to nothing, who could not seriously be thought to have anything to say. (*IPR* 181, 182)

Contrary to the Bible, which suggests, "Blessed are the meek for they shall inherit the earth," Foucault's work insists that "the disinherited of the earth, are and have always been crushed, each day, each life" (*IPR* 177).

The problem of abject poverty, Foucault recognizes, "concerned something over and above the pettifogging terms in which the conflict(s) [of these contracts were] couched" (*IPR* 181). Like Wright and Agee/Evans, Foucault shows it is the whole system of political, economic, and social power that is responsible and, crucially, it is that very same power which is at stake. *Native Son*, *Famous Men*, and *I, Pierre Rivière* all register the effects of governmentality on the lives of human beings, exploring how this mode of power or "social contract" places the emphasis on nation and collective identity. Celebratory narratives of "We, the People" extol the virtues of liberal

humanism, and mask the efficient management of populations, progress, and industrialization in an "America on the threshold of the modern age" (Walther 14). Wright, Agee/Evans's and Foucault's works expose the ways such narratives differentiate among groups of people, defining and ranking them by race, gender, and class. They show how the processes of division and discipline function to keep everyone in his or her place and protect the status quo. As Foucault observes, the operation of power "separates the individual, breaks his links with others, splits up community life, [and] forces the individual back on himself, ... ty[ing] him to his own identity in a constraining way" ("Subject" 211-212). Constructed identities serve as rationale for the exploitation of certain segments of society, for the denial of their right to speak, their right to representation—effectively, their right to citizenship.

In their respective texts, Wright, Agee/Evans and Foucault each ponder the meaning and implications of "[l]ives devoid of all future, deprived of all prospects. Enduring the unlivable, day in and day out" (*IPR* 175). Considering whether there is any escape from governmentality, they raise the question of "the limits of human nature" for those who are "excluded from the social nexus" (*IPR* 188). Foucault asks what would happen if these people simply ceased to recognize the fundamental tenets of a nation that was founded on the basis of barring them from even their most basic human rights (*IPR* 188). In the case of the cotton tenants, it would appear that the only choice is to accept their lot. This places them, in the words of the biblical passage from which *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men* takes its name, among those "who have no memorial; who perished, as though they had never been"; and who, save for Agee and Evans's work, "are become as though they had never been born; ... [t]heir bodies...buried in peace" (*FM* 393).[75] For Bigger Thomas and Pierre Rivière, it is by "killing" alone can they can break the horror, "go beyond the possible," "transgress [the] limits," and "thereby ... assume the right to break the silence and speak at last" (*IPR* 176-77). Yet, it is in "killing to testify" that "they [come] to grief" (*IPR* 190). The

act of murder means almost certain incarceration in an insane asylum or summary execution by the state. All options are chilling and all lead to a form of death—murder, by legal means, at the hands of government.

Herein lies the dreadful irony. As Foucault points out, "[m]urder establishe[s] the ambiguity of the lawful and the unlawful" (*IPR* 206). It exposes the hypocritical basis on which nations operate. Murder in the name of punishment is defended in the name of justice; murder in the guise of war (as Woolf and Auden assert) is glorified as patriotic; while murder as an act of self-saving desperation is labelled a crime punishable by death. Foucault states, "murder is the supreme event. It posits the relation between power and the people, stripped down to essentials: the command to kill, the prohibition against killing; to be killed, to be executed; voluntary sacrifice, punishment inflicted; memory, oblivion" (*IPR* 206). Wright and Agee/Evans were assembling their texts in the late thirties just as Hitler was consolidating power in Germany and men like Henry R. Luce were urging America to mobilize for war. When World War II was declared, the problems of race relations and the plight of the poor, which had seized the national imagination and been so in vogue during the worst years of the Great Depression, were summarily brushed inside.[76]

Native Son, *Let us Now Praise Famous Men* and *I, Pierre Rivière* insist that no person's pain should ever be neglected and no person should ever be consigned to oblivion. Writing about his protagonist, Foucault suggests:

> If the peasants had a Plutarch, Pierre Rivière would have his chapter in the *Illustrious Lives*. And not he alone. His whole family falls into a rank of exemplary victims, a challenge, so to speak, to the galleries of stored urns and animated busts in the lofty ancestral mansions. But what Plutarch could conceive that exemplary lives could ever grow from the furrows tended by the stooping rustics? The humble earn only the mead of silence. (*IPR* 175)

Wright’s, Agee/Evans's and Foucault's texts celebrate the unquenchable, self-creative, and procreative urge of the human spirit. Their works attempt to give their forgotten subjects voice—their own personal accounts of themselves and their lives—not in the form of smooth, seamless, totalizing narratives but in all their complicated, contradictory, fragmented, and fractured modes of perception. Wright, Agee, and Evans share with Foucault the notion that "the political, ethical, social, philosophical problem of our day is not to try to liberate the individual from the state and the state's institutions, but to liberate ... both [the individual and the state] from the type of individualization which is linked to the state." The goal must be to "promote new forms of subjectivity through the refusal of this kind of individuality which has been imposed on us for centuries (Foucault "Subject" 216). This is citizenship reimagined.

FIGURE 1:

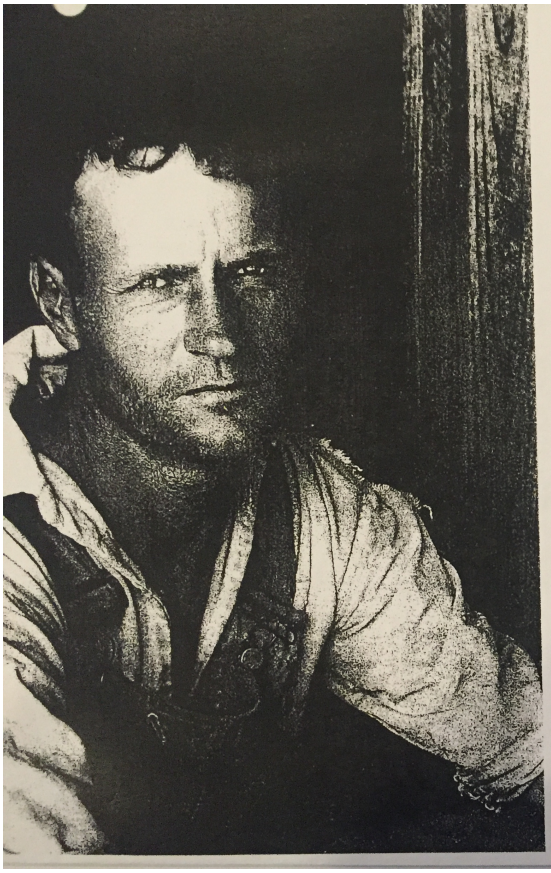


FIGURE 2:

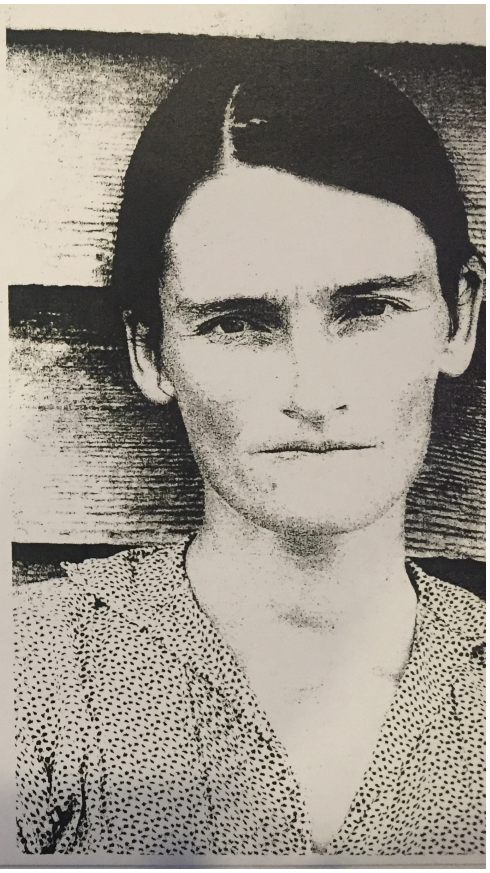


FIGURE 3:

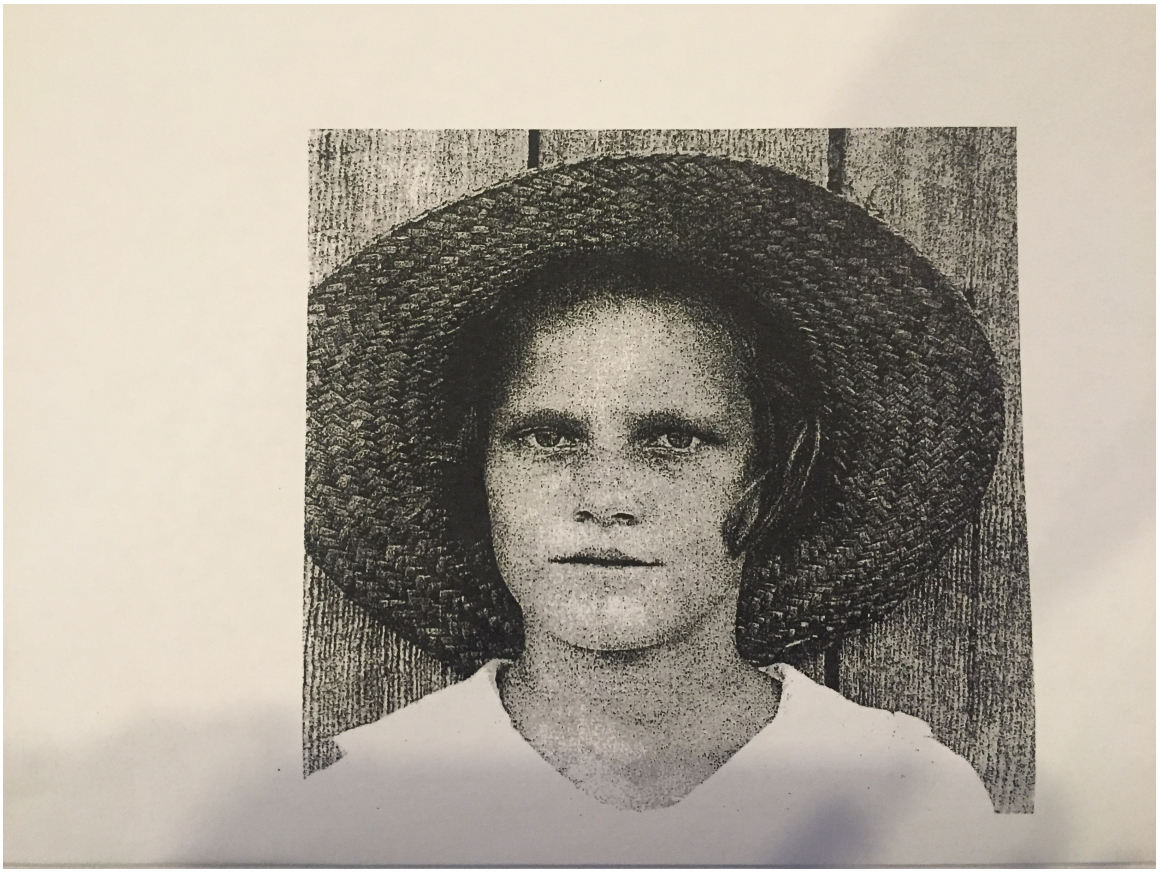


FIGURE 4:

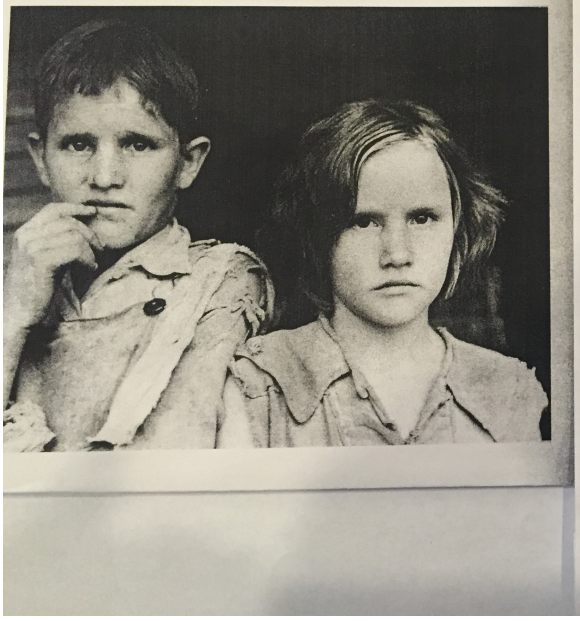


FIGURE 5:

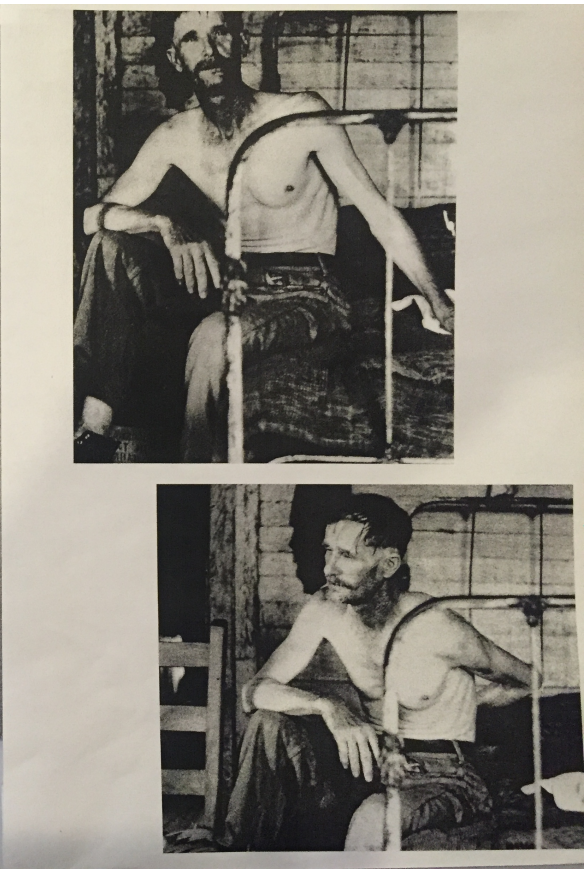


FIGURE 6:

FIGURE 7:

FIGURE 8:

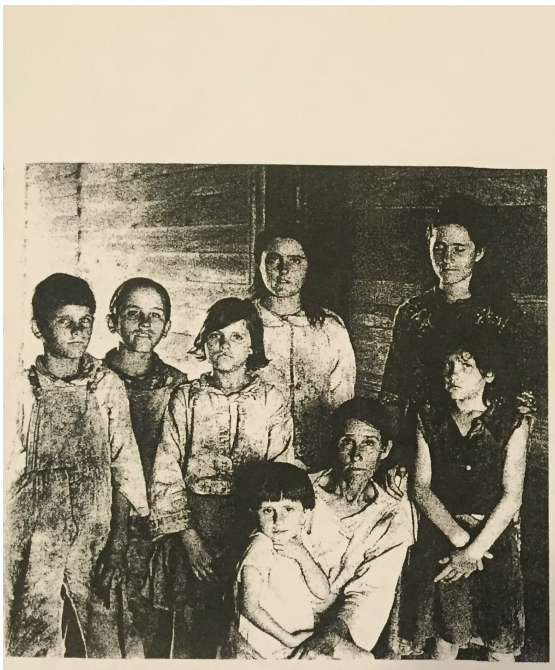


FIGURE 9:

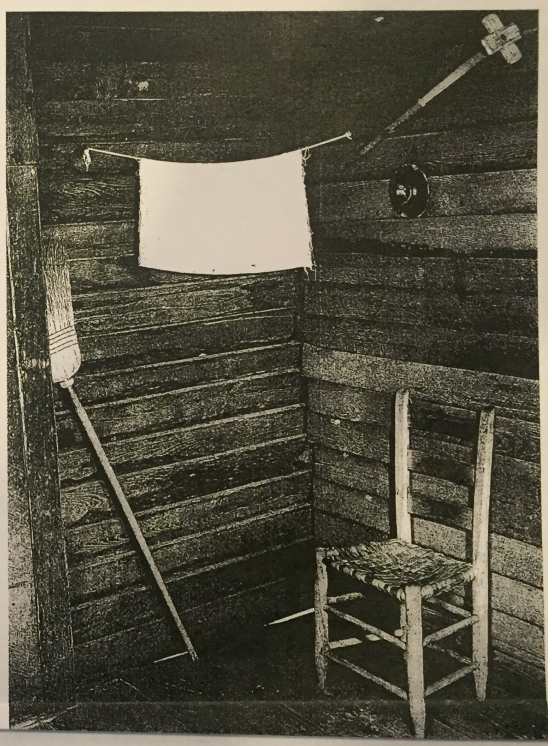
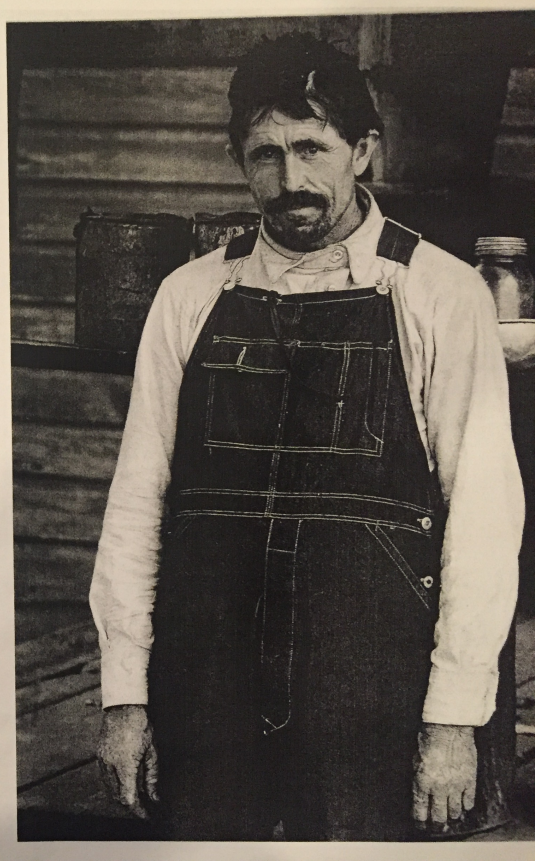


FIGURE 10:

FIGURE 11:



:

FIGURE 12:

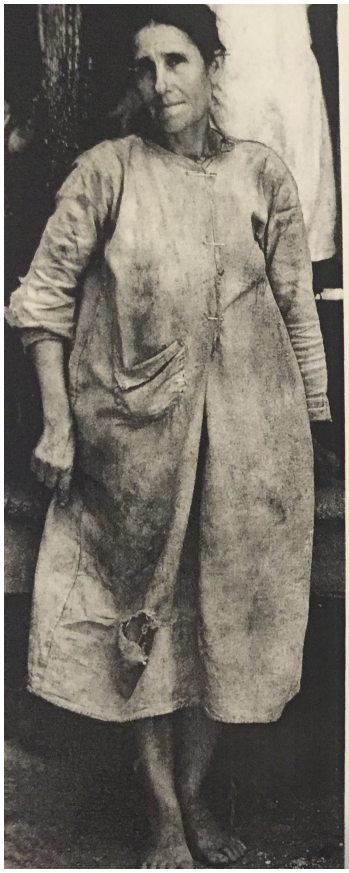


FIGURE 13:

FIGURE 14:

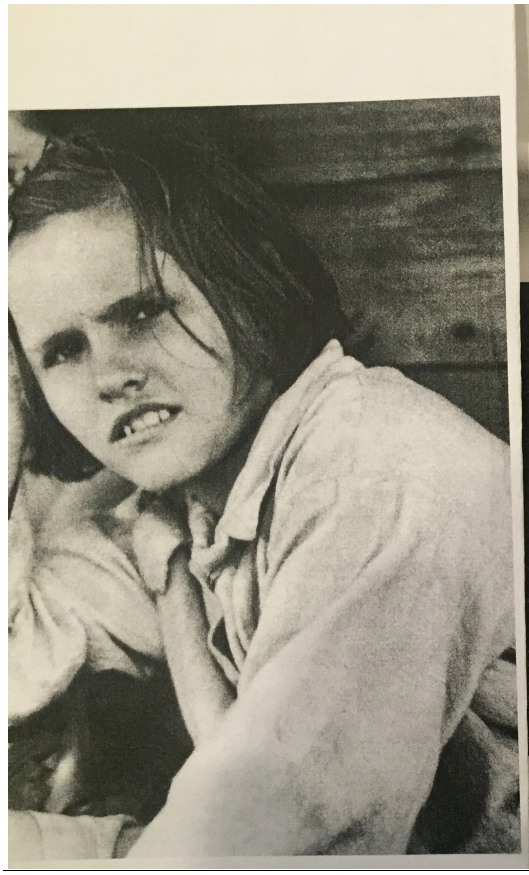


FIGURE 15:

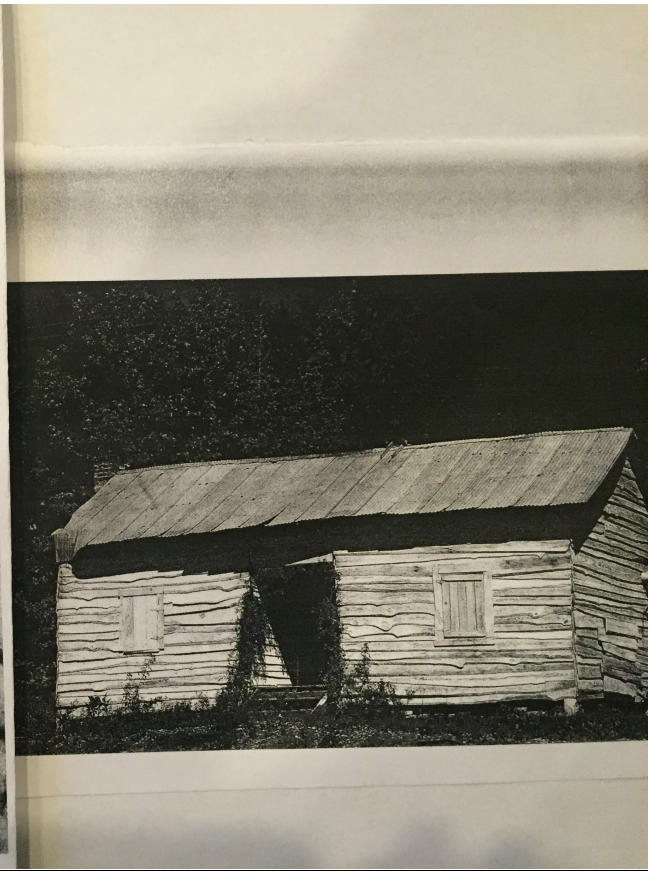


FIGURE 16:

FIGURE 17:

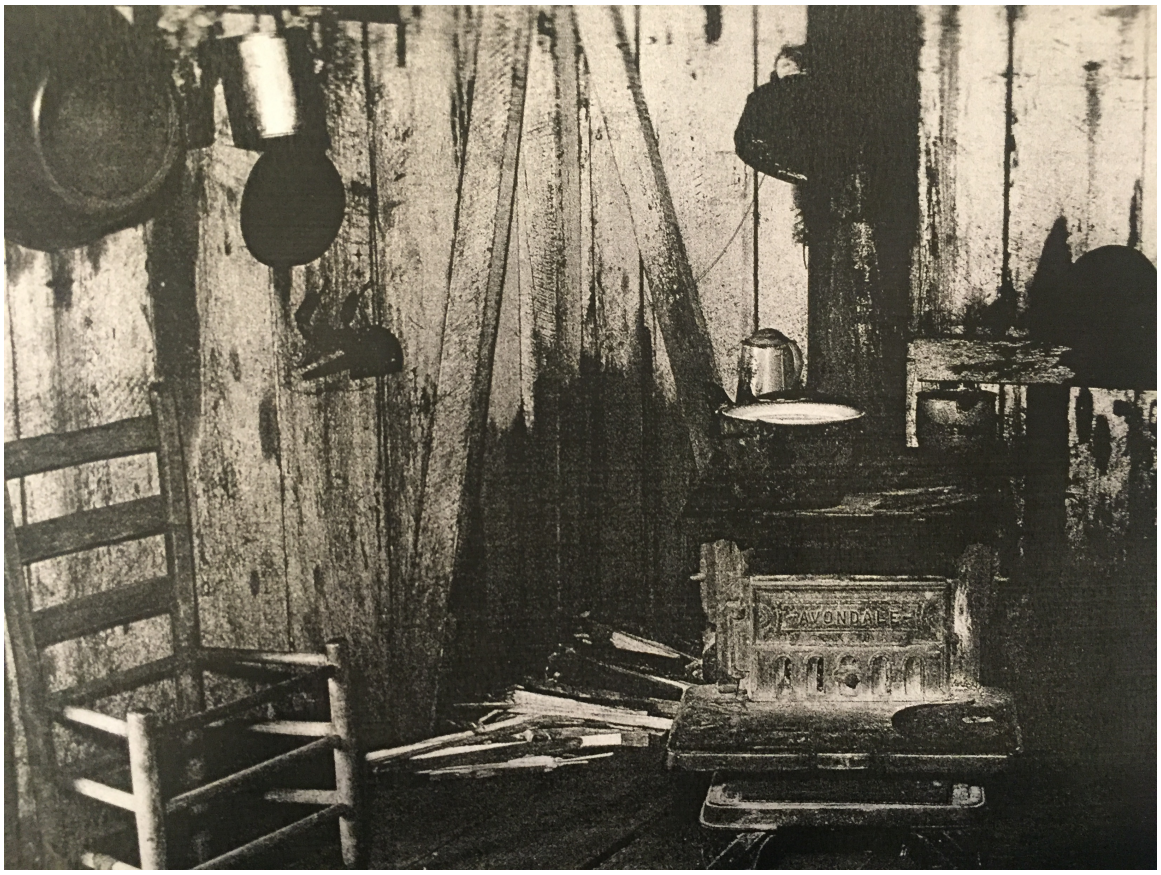


FIGURE 18:

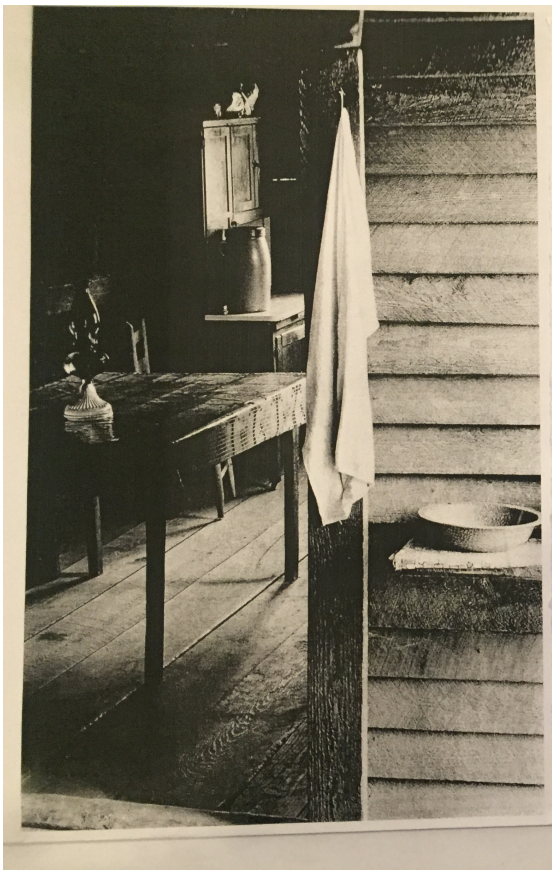


FIGURE 19:

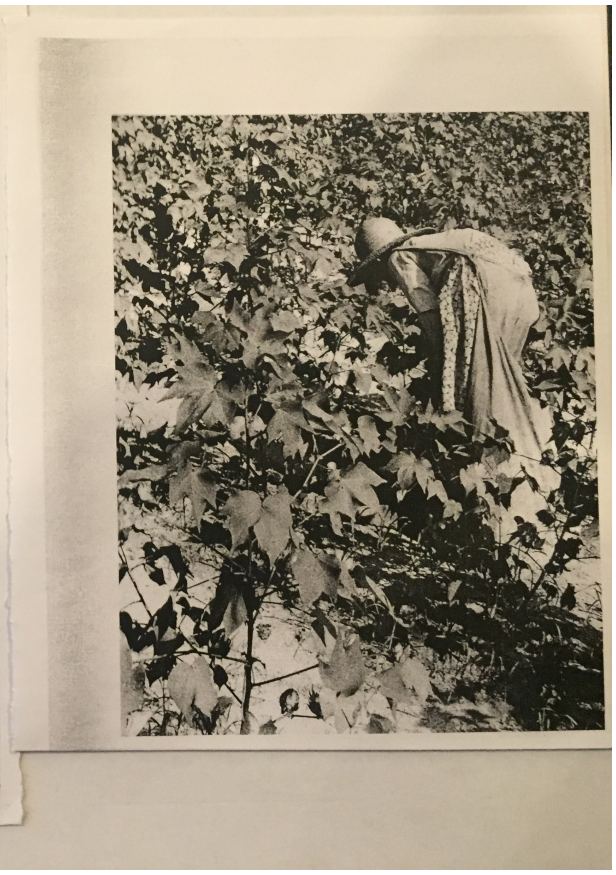


FIGURE 20:

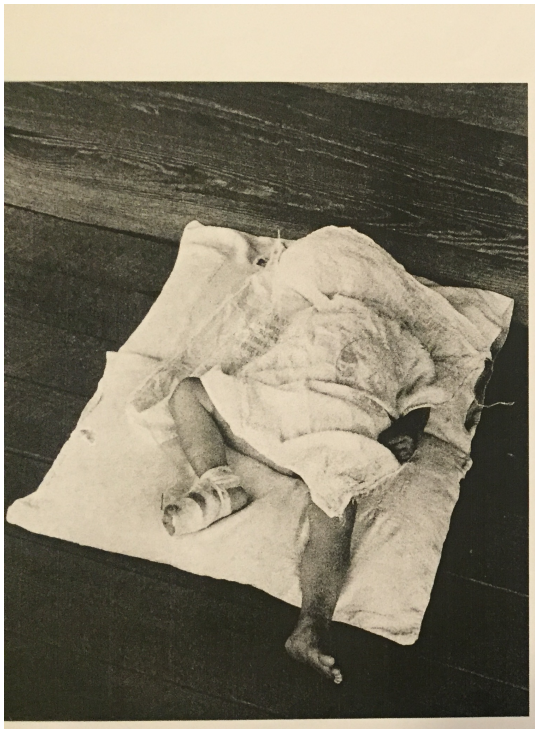


FIGURE 21:

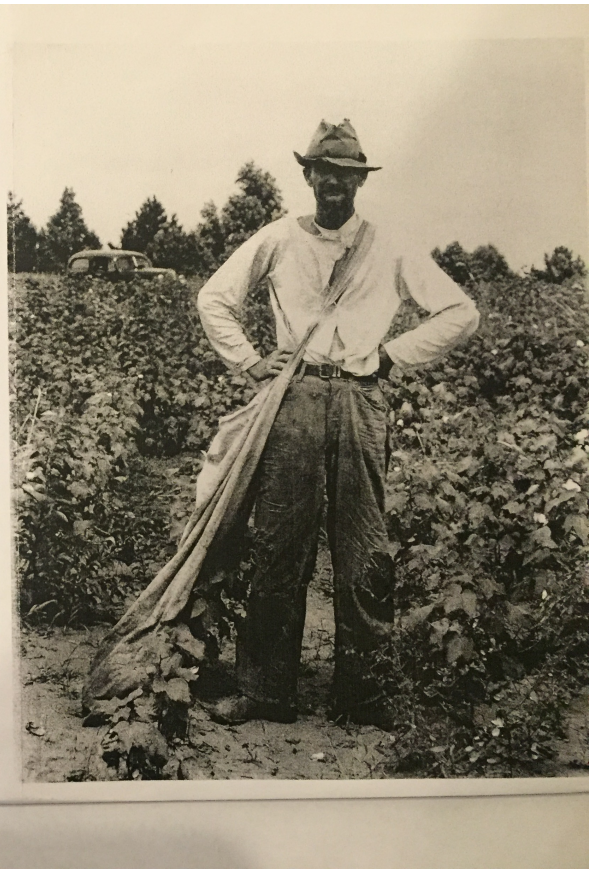


FIGURE 22:

FIGURE 23:

FIGURE 24:

FIGURE 25:

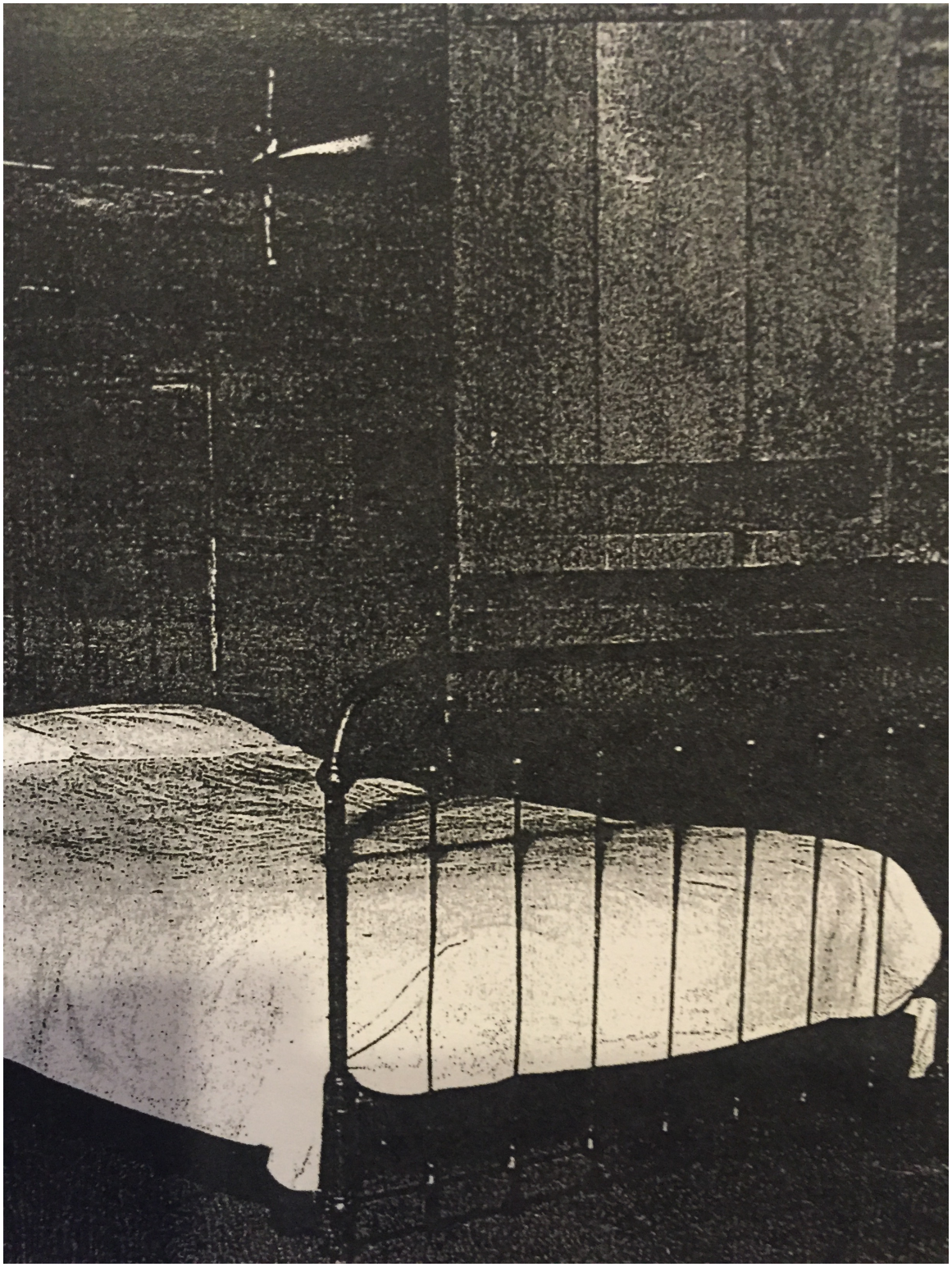


FIGURE 26:

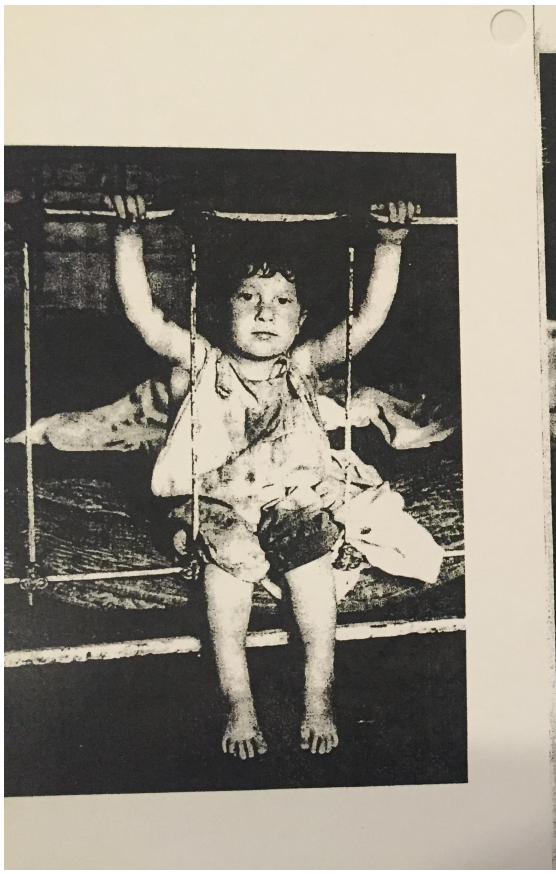
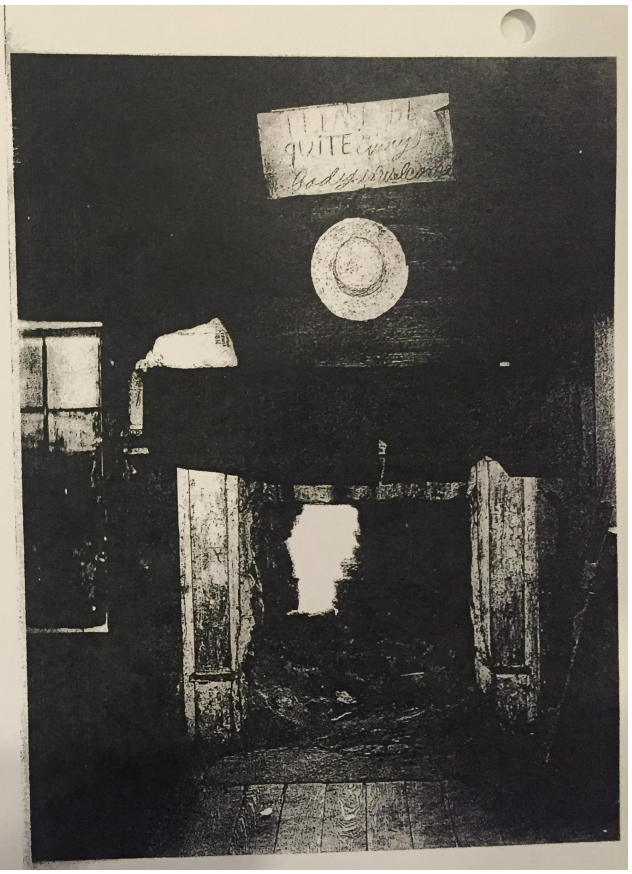


FIGURE 27:



FIGURES 28 & 29:

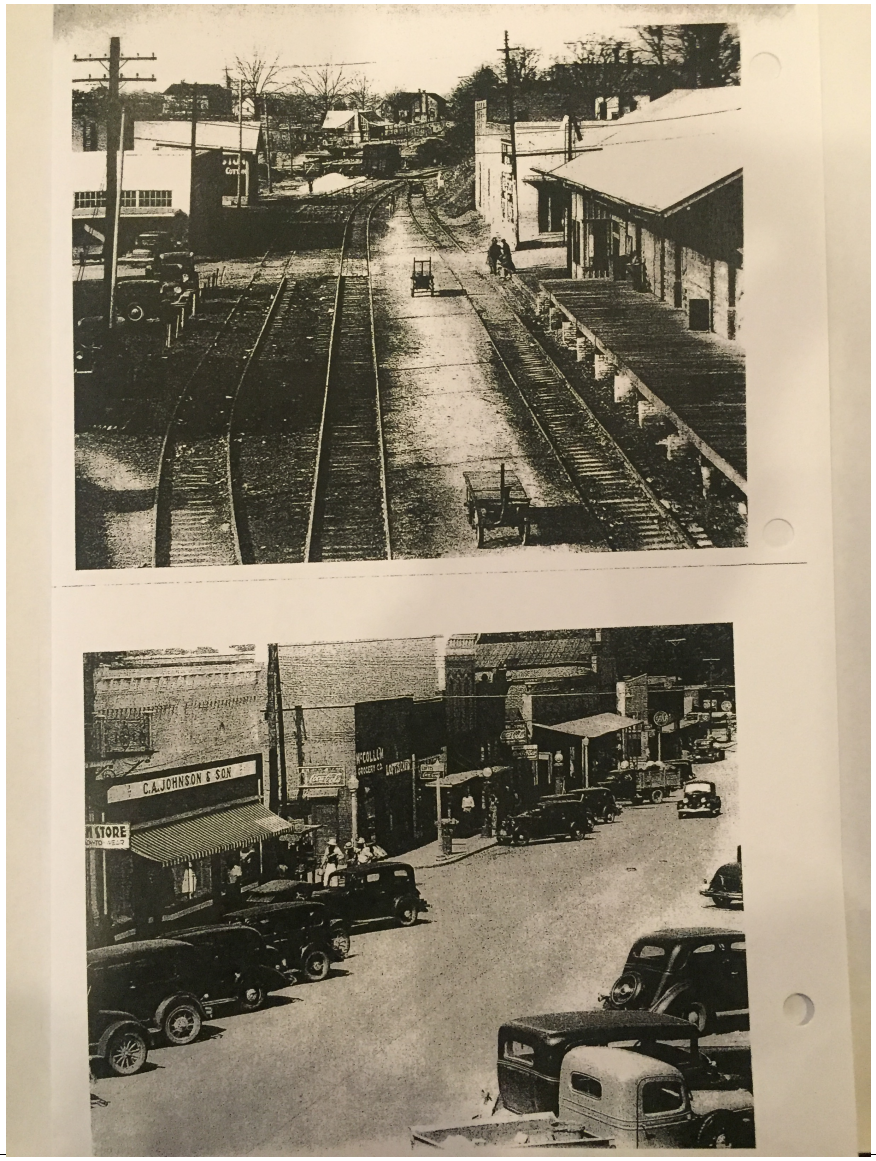
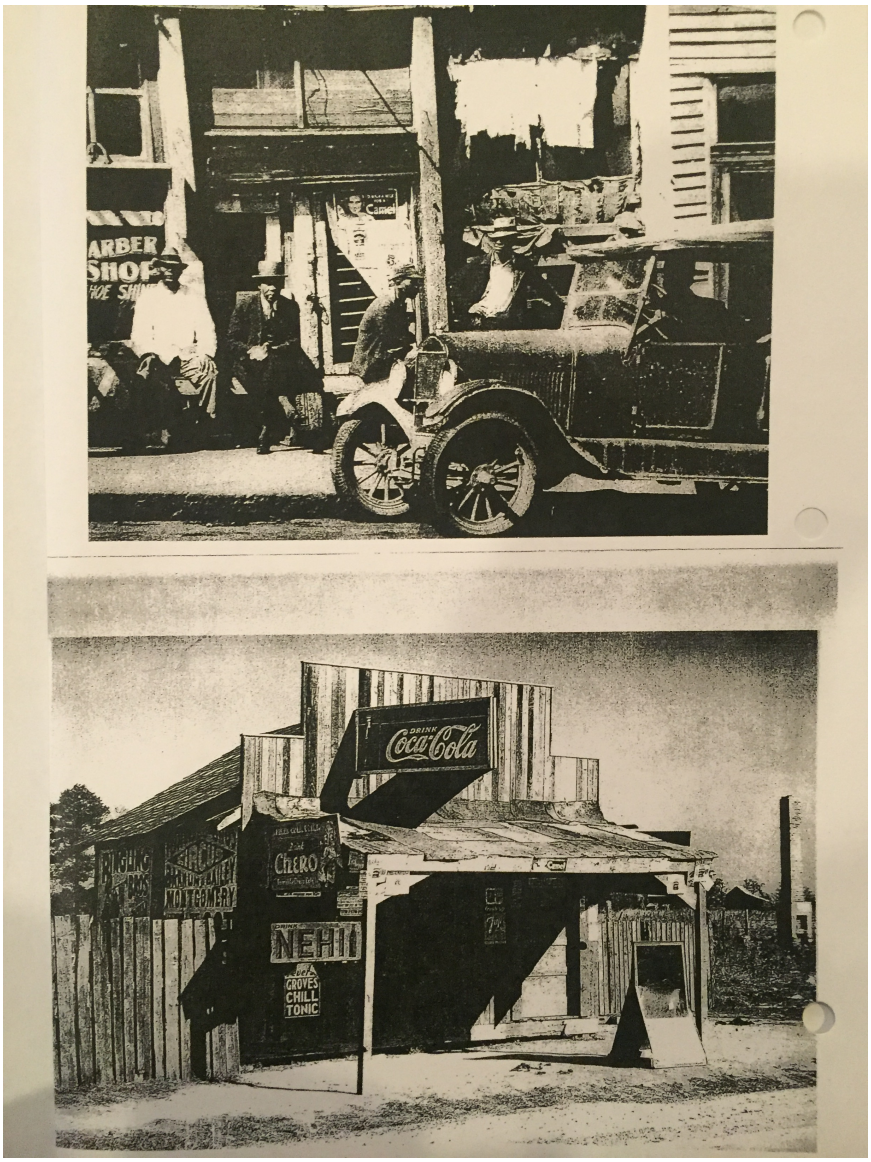


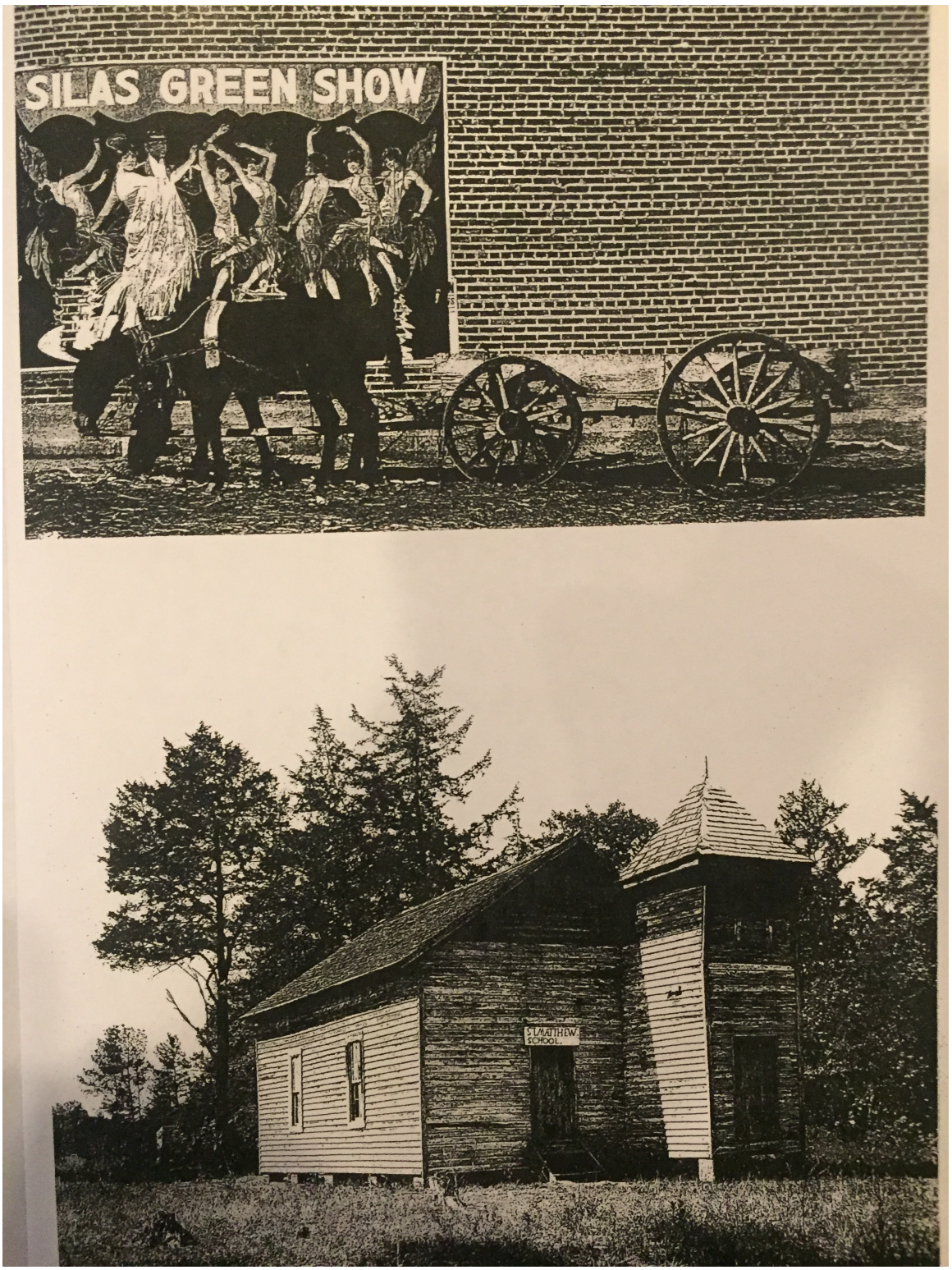
FIGURE 30:

FIGURE 31:

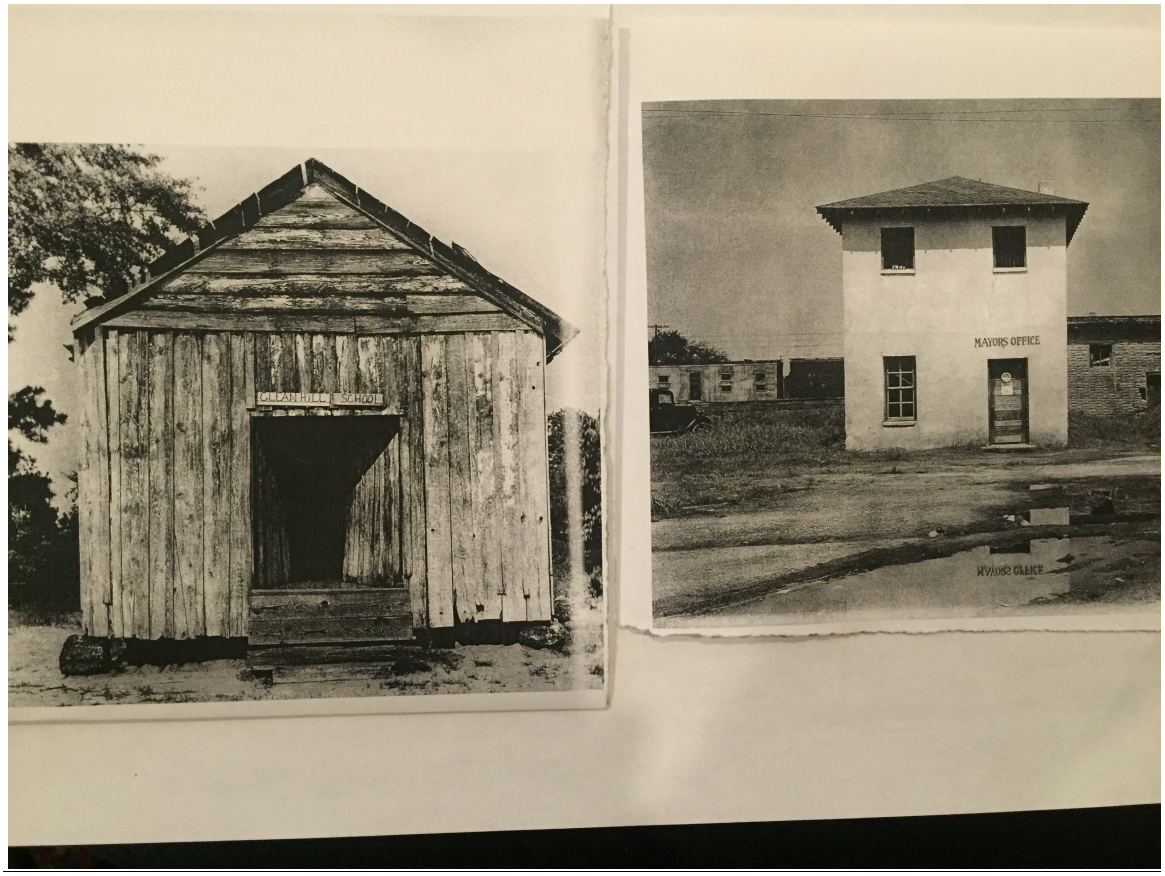
FIGURES 32 & 33:



FIGURES 34 & 35:



FIGURES 36 & 37:



FIGURES 38 & 39:

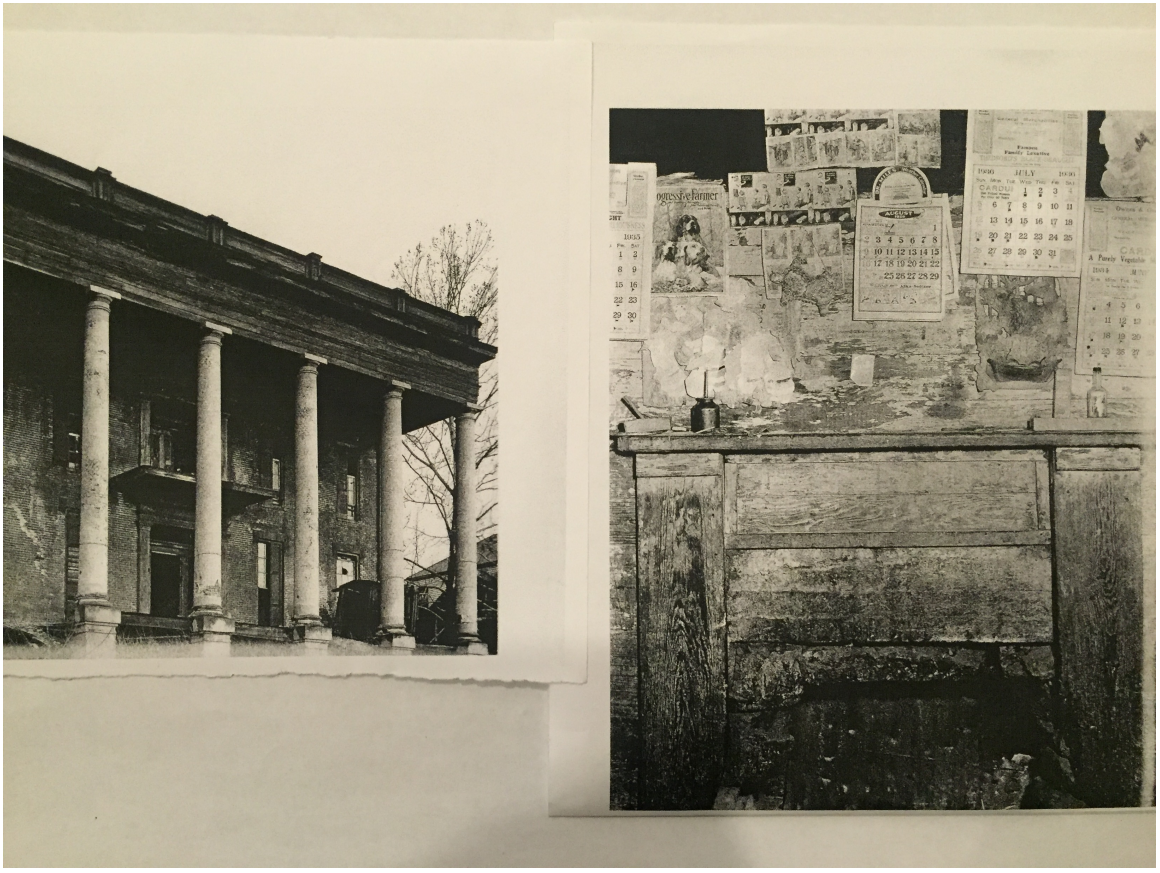
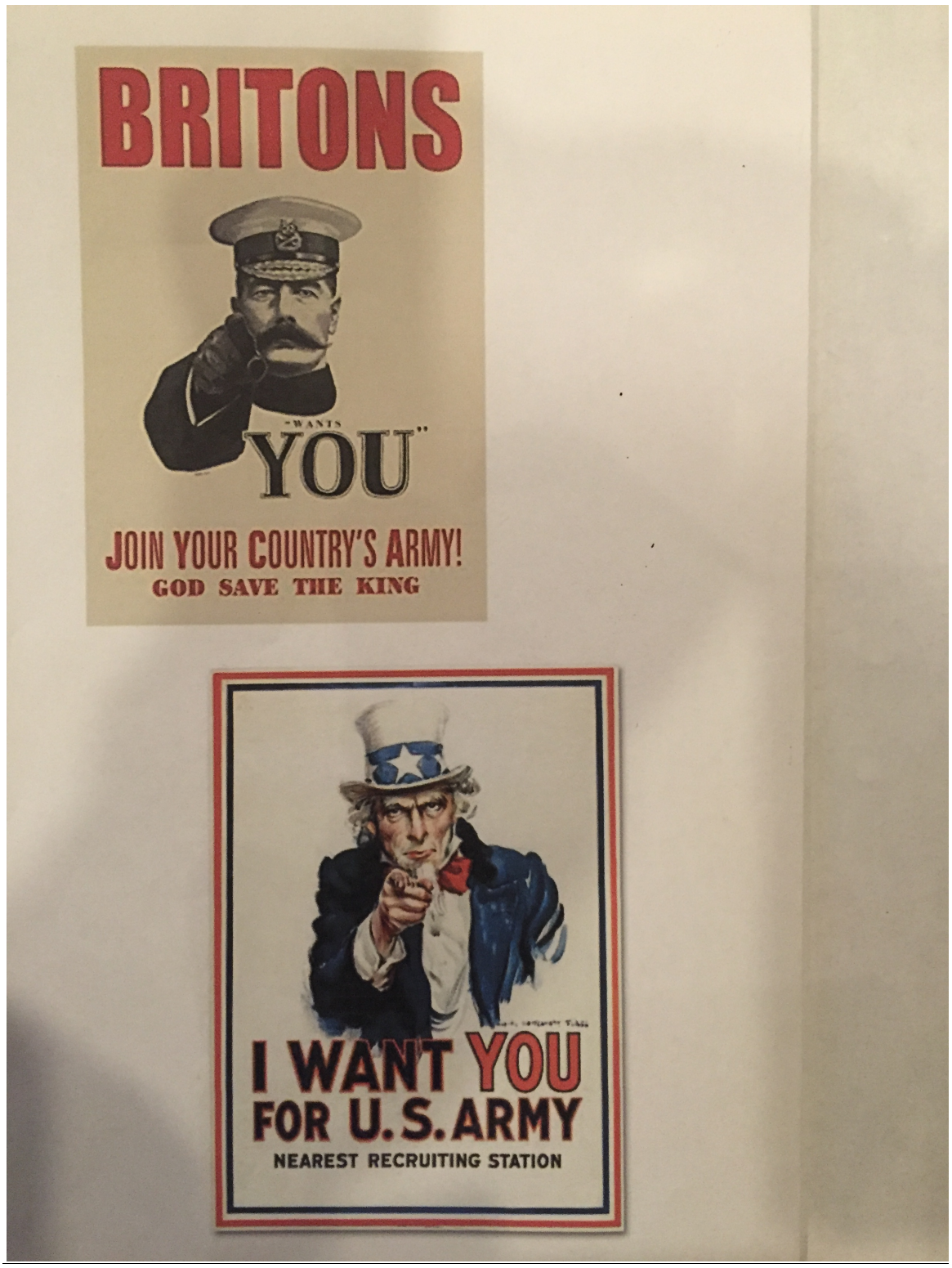


FIGURE 40:


BRITONS
"WANTS
YOU"
JOIN YOUR COUNTRY'S ARMY!
GOD SAVE THE KING
I WANT YOU
FOR U.S. ARMY
NEAREST RECRUITING STATION

Endnotes

[1] The "Preamble to the United States Constitution" states: "We the People of the United States, in Order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America" (https://www.law.cornell.edu/constitution/preamble).

[2] Translation by Lesley Higgins and Marie-Christine Leps. The quote is from Foucault's "Confronting Governments: Human Rights" speech, which was published in *Libération* in June 1984. In the version of the speech edited by James D. Faubion in *Power* 3, p. 475, the translation reads: "The suffering of men must never be a silent residue of policy."

[3] The phrase the "Culture Industry" was coined by the German critical theorists Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer in their collaborative work, *Dialectic of Enlightenment* (1944), which included a chapter entitled "The Culture Industry: Enlightenment as Mass Deception." Adorno and Horkheimer's idea was that cultural production—the making and widespread dissemination of popular films, radio broadcasts, and magazines—was becoming increasingly the province of a small group of powerful, inter-connected, monopolizing industries. In churning out a fairly uniform set of products, these corporations had the ability to mould social opinion, influence public taste, and thereby manipulate mass society into passivity.
Jeff Allred devotes a section of his book *American Modernism and Depression Documentary* to discussing the rise of the "Culture Industry" in 1930s America. See pp. 168-171.

[4] Time Inc. was founded in 1922 by Henry R. Luce (1898-1967) and Britten Hadden (1898-1929). Several works trace the rise of Time Inc. as a corporation. See:

Robert T. Elson, *Time Inc: The Intimate History of a Publishing Enterprise*; Robert E. Herzstein, *Henry R. Luce: A Political Portrait of the Man Who Created the American Century*; James L. Baughman, *Henry R. Luce and the Rise of the American News Media*; and Jeff Allred, *American Modernism and Depression Documentary*, pp. 167-197.

[5] A billhook is sickle-shaped blade with a sharp inner edge used for pruning or lopping branches or other vegetation.

[6] Foucault's work is entitled, *I, Pierre Rivière, Having slaughtered my mother, my sister, my brother... A Case of Parricide in the 19th Century*. Rivière's case was originally reported in the *Annales d'hygiène publique et de médecine légale* in 1836. This English version of Foucault's text was translated by Frank Jellinek and published by the U of Nebraska P in 1975. The original French text, *Moi, Pierre Rivière ayant égogé ma mère, ma soeur et mon frère...*, was published by Editions Gallimard in 1973. Foucault explains that like most articles published in the *Annales d'hygiène* journal, this case study included a summary of the facts and the medico-legal experts' reports. What was remarkable about it and what caught Foucault and his researchers' attention, however, was the fullness of the documentation provided, including a number of unusual elements:

> 1. A series of three medical reports that did not reach similar conclusions and did not use exactly the same kind of analysis, each coming from a different source and each with a different status within the medical institution.
>
> 2. A fairly large collection of court exhibits including statements by witnesses—all of them from a small village in Normandy—when questioned about the life, behaviour, character, *madness or idiocy* of the author of the crime.
>
> 3. Lastly, and most notably, a memoir, or rather the fragment of a memoir,

> written by the accused himself, a peasant some twenty years of age who claimed that he could "only barely read and write" and who had undertaken during his detention on remand to give "particulars and an explanation" of his crime, the premeditated murder of his mother, his sister, and his brother. (*IPR* Foreword vii-viii)

In their "Notes" to the dossier, Foucault and his team outline how Rivière's personal account of his crimes came to be written (see *IPR* pp. 197, 270-71).

[7] The essay "How 'Bigger' Was Born," published in 1940, was based on a lecture Wright gave at Columbia University that same year. In this essay, Wright attempts to account for the novel's sources, creative approach, and literary techniques.

[8] During his 1932 campaign for the presidency, Franklin Delano Roosevelt used the phrase "the forgotten man" in a radio address from Albany, New York, April 1932: "These unhappy times call for the building of plans that rest upon the forgotten, [plans] that build from the bottom up and not from the top down, that put their faith once more in the forgotten man at the bottom of the economic pyramid." Roosevelt built his New Deal around helping this so-called "forgotten man," but ironically the plan itself "forgot" or excluded many Americans, especially African Americans. See Franklin D. Roosevelt, "The 'Forgotten Man' Speech," Radio Address, 7 April 1932 in *The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt*, ed. Samuel I. Rosenman (Random House, 1941), p. 628. In *American Modernism and Depression Documentary*, Allred notes that in the language of the Depression era, African American people, "who found no place within the administered space of a hegemony," were often referred to as the "forgotten" or the "Negro farthest down" (8). Allred explains that this latter term comes from Zora Neale Hurston's shorthand for the black "folk" who were her literary subjects, but Hurston herself borrowed the saying from Booker T. Washington (Allred 208).

[9] *Native Son* was the first genuine bestseller to be published by an African American writer. While still in page proofs at Harper and Brothers, Wright's book was picked up in 1939 by the Book-of-the-Month Club, which insisted Wright amend the portrayal of the young white woman Mary Dalton (to tone down her sexuality) and purge certain passages, including a masturbation scene. The revised version was brought out as one of BOMC's two main selections in March 1940. Within three weeks the book sold 215,000 copies, but sales fell off abruptly after reaching a peak of just under 250,000. A paperback edition was published in 1966 by Perennial Library and subsequently reissued in 1987 and 1989. In 1991, Wright's work was expertly restored to its original condition by Arnold Rampersad in a Library of America edition. This edition contains the full text of Wright's essay, "How 'Bigger' Was Born" (1940). Initial reviews of Wright's book were mainly favourable, although it shocked many readers; critical reception since has been mixed. For a brief history of scholarly response to the novel, see Rampersad, "Introduction" to *Native Son*, xx-xxii. See also: John M. Reilly, *Richard Wright: The Critical Reception* (1978).

[10] *Fortune* magazine, founded in 1929 by Henry R. Luce, made its official debut in February 1930. The business weekly was part of Time Inc.'s stable of publications. Its rise and influence are detailed later in this chapter.

[11] Allred reports that the understanding between *Fortune* magazine and the FSA was that all of Evans's work from the *Fortune* assignment would be deposited in the Farm Security Administration's archives. See Allred, *Documentary*, p. 223, n. 1. According to Henry Mayer, Evans subsequently submitted 107 carefully captioned photographs from the trip to the Resettlement Administration (see Mayer's "Famous Men," *Bookend: The New York Times On The Web*. 14 May 2000, p. 3).

For a detailed history of the FSA's work, see Peter Walther's "Introduction" to *New Deal Photography: USA 1935-1943*, pp. 11-23.

[12] William Stott notes that much to Agee's disgust, the terms "tenant" and "sharecropper" were used interchangeably by the media during the 1930s (see *Documentary*, p. 217). Agee takes care to define the difference in his "Notes" to *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men*, pp. 402-406, which include an additional two-page, continuous single sentence tirade about other commonly misused and abused Anglo-Saxon terms. (For the proper definitions of "tenant" and "sharecropper," see below.)

[13] In an essay entitled "Of Poor Farmers and 'Famous Men,'" Lawrence Downes cites these places as being the actual locations where Agee and Evans stayed with the tenant farmers in the summer of 1936. Downes went back to Hale County in 2011. Sadly, he reports that, "Greensboro's downtown ... look[s] grimmer now that when Evans shot it.... There are no sharecroppers, but people still struggle ... the median household income is $30,000, poor even for Alabama. Much of that is black poverty; the population divide between black and white is roughly 60-40. As for the deep, crushing poverty of illiterate farm laborers," he states, "that role is now played by Latino immigrants, recent arrivals." Downes describes walking through "the trash-filled ruins of a collapsed wooden house" and passing "an empty shack spray-painted with a white 'KKK' and a swastika.... On a post nearby was a no-trespassing sign: "THERE WILL BE NO MORE WARNINGS" (3).

[14] Agee's fictional names for the families were the Gudgers, Woods, and the Ricketts. The families' real names were, respectively, the Burroughs, the Fields, and the Tengles.

[15] Although *Fortune* never published the article, it was excerpted in a couple of periodicals before Houghton Mifflin published it as the book, *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men*, in 1941. Despite favourable reviews at the time of its release, only 600 copies sold before it disappeared from bookstore shelves. *Famous Men* was not reissued until the 1960s. For years, the 30,000 word report that Agee wrote for *Fortune* was presumed to have been lost. Fifty years after Agee's death, however, a

collection of his manuscripts turned out to include a typescript of the article, labelled "Cotton Tenants." This original report, including thirty of Walker Evans's historic photographs, was published for the first time as *Cotton Tenants: Three Families* by James Agee, photographs by Walker Evans, ed. John Summers (Melville House, 2013).

[16] Agee's choice of the word "stylish" to describe the public interest in tenantry is telling. "Stylish" implies the fickleness of fashion, the capriciousness of people's tastes, suggesting something superficial, merely a passing fad that fails to apprehend the deeper, systemic issues involved. Aptly, Agee footnotes the lines quoted with the following ironic comment: "Now that we are busy buttering ourselves as the last stronghold of democracy, interest in such embarrassments has tactfully slackened off" (*FM* 182).

[17] Wright makes the following point in his essay "How 'Bigger' was Born": "I made the discovery that Bigger Thomas was not black all the time; he was white, too, and there were literally millions of him, everywhere" (441).

[18] Several modernist writers—Henry James, James Joyce, and Virginia Woolf prominent among them—were interested in the individual consciousness as the governing centre of their works. James's theories concerning the central consciousness (focalization) in fiction were certainly well known to Wright by the time he came to write *Native Son* (see Rampersad "Introduction," *A Collection of Critical Essays*, 6). The book reviews Agee filed for *Time* magazine show that he, too, was deeply impressed with the works of Virginia Woolf, James Joyce, and other modernists who were experimenting with similar techniques.

[19] Agee's choice of the phrase "weaponless consciousness" suggests a Foucauldian view of existence in which there is no essential self; human consciousness, rather, is at the mercy of all manner of social forces that shape personal identity.

[20] Agee goes on to comment: "[this] is why in turn I feel such rage at its misuse" (*FM* 9). In his "Notes and Appendices" to *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men*, Agee includes a scathing piece on Margaret Bourke-White and what he feels is her blatant misuse of the camera. (See n. 3, 398-401.) Like Agee, Virginia Woolf believed that photographs, used properly and ethically, could form an integral part of a text, reinforcing its emotional impact and meaning. Chapter Three contains a discussion of Woolf's use of photography in *Three Guineas*.

[21] According to the Book of Revelation, the number "666" is the name for the wild beast with seven heads and ten horns that comes out of the sea (Rev. 13:1, 17-18). The beast is a symbol of a worldwide political system, which rules over "every tribe and people and tongue and nation" (Rev. 13:7). Names assigned by God in the Bible have meanings. In this case God named the beast "666" as a sign of something flawed, imperfect, a symbol of its defining attributes. The "mark" of the beast is a brand stamped upon it. It is often associated with the devil. The triple repetition of the number six suggests the way in which so-called truth is manufactured by constant repetition in discourse.

[22] The Federal Writers' Project was a federal government initiative that fell under the auspices of the Works Progress Administration or WPA, one of Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal initiatives launched in 1935. One of its smaller sections was the Federal Project Number One, which employed musicians, artists, actors, directors and writers, such as Richard Wright, in various arts, drama, media, and literacy ventures. Wright's job with the Project was helping to research the history of blacks in Chicago.

[23] Wright chafed at the Communist Party's attempts to control the content of his writing just as he had at his grandmother's attempts to force religion on him as a child.

[24] Three novels, *The Outsider* (1953), *Savage Holiday* (1954), and *The Long Dream* (1958), as well as a collection of essays entitled *Black Power* (1954), were published

while Wright was living in Paris. At the time of his death, he was working on an unfinished novel, *The Father's Law* (2008). Several other works were published posthumously: *Eight Men*, a collection of short stories (1961), *Lawd Today* (1963), a novella, *Rite of Passage* (1994), and *American Hunger* (1977). *American Hunger* is the second part of *Black Bo*y. Originally suppressed, it deals with Wright's life in the North. During his lifetime, Wright also published several essays and works of non-fiction; important among them: "Blueprint for Negro Writing" (1937), *12 Million Black Voices* (1941), *The Color Curtain* (1956), and "White Man, Listen!" (1957).

[25] This was the period of the Cold War between the Soviet Union and the United States and its allies; because of Wright's Communist associations, some people think he was killed by the US Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). Wright himself believed at the time that the CIA was after him.

[26] The *Encyclopaedia Britannica* defines the "Black Belt" as "a fertile plain, generally 25-30 miles (40-50 km) wide and stretching approximately 300 miles (480 km) across central Alabama and northeastern Mississippi." It was so named for its rich black soil, which made it one of the South's most important agricultural areas before the American Civil War. The term has also been used "to denote those areas of the South where the plantation system, with its large number of black slaves, predominated before the Civil War" (https://www.britannica.com/place/Black-Belt). Richard Wright, however, uses the term "Black Belt" and the phrase "the locked-in Black Belts" (HB 437) to refer to all those segregated institutions and "coloured" sections of the South to which African Americans were confined — neighbourhoods, schools, churches, businesses, places of employment, streetcars, restaurants, clubs, movie theatres, washrooms, prisons, and graveyard

[27] Agee's *The Letters of James Agee to Father Flye* was first published by Peter Owen Publishers in 1944.

[28] This quote, found in a letter from W. H. Auden to the editors of *The Nation*, is dated 16 October 1944.

[29] Agee adapted Davis Grubb's novel *The Night of the Hunter* into the 1955 movie of the same name. He also helped adapt C. S. Forester's novel *The African Queen* into the 1951 film classic.

[30] The quote is from a letter to Fr. Flye written 8 November 1930, when Agee was only twenty-one and still a student at Harvard (see Agee's *Letters to Father Flye*, p. 46). Agee includes a quotation from Shakespeare's *King Lear* following his "Preface" to *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men*. The passage, taken from Act III, announces a theme central to Agee's work: the plight of the poor and the nature of compassion:

> Poor naked wretches, wheresoe'er you are,
> That bide the pelting of this pitiless storm,
> How shall your houseless heads and unfed sides,
> Your loop'd and window'd raggedness, defend you
> From seasons such as these? O! I have ta'en
> Too little care of this! Take physick, pomp;
> Expose thyself to feel what wretches feel,
> That thou may'st shake the superflux to them,
> And show the heavens more just. (3.4.32-40)

[31] Sources: "Great Depression." *History.com* https://www.history.com/topics/great-depression; "Unemployment Statistics during the Great Depression." U-S-history.com/pages/h1528.html; and Peter Walther, "Introduction," *New Deal Photography*, p. 11.

[32] Among these were: a bill that created the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA), which would take on the massive project of building dams and power plants to salvage drought-stricken areas; legislation that established such organizations as the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, which would distribute half a billion dollars to state

and local agencies; the Public Works Administration (PWA), which would provide long-term jobs on public construction projects; the Civilian Conservation Corps, which put two and a half million men to work, helping to protect large tracts of forest; and the Civil Works Administration (CWA), which created an additional four million jobs in 1934. Another significant Roosevelt initiative was the Works Progess Administration, begun in 1935 and renamed the Work Projects Administration (WPA) in 1939. Like the PWA, this agency focused on hiring people for large government infrastructure projects. (The WPA employed more than eight and a half million people before it folded in 1943.) One small arm of the WPA was the Arts Projects Division, the mandate of which was to put unemployed artists opportunities to work documenting America from a cultural perspective. Source: "The Great Depression." *Encyclopaedia Britannica*.com https://www.britannica.com/place/United-States/The-Great-Depression#ref613069

[33] *Life* magazine, 4 April 1938, p. 12.

[34] These books, often published by the photographers themselves, include: Walker Evans, *American Photographs* (1938); Agee and Evans, *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men* (1941), and Richard Wright, *Twelve Million Black Voices* (1941); as well as Erskine Caldwell and Margaret Bourke-White, *You Have Seen Their Faces* (1937) and *Say, Is This The USA?* (1941); Archibald MacLeish, *Land of the Free* (1938); Dorothea Lange and Paul S. Taylor, *An American Exodus* (1939); and Sherwood Anderson's two volume *Hometown,* edited by Edwin Rosskam (1940).

[35] Richard Wright's photo-documentary project, *Twelve Million Black Voices: A History of the Negro in the United States* (1941), deals with the phases of black American social evolution: from the slave trade to slave life on Southern plantations, through Reconstruction and Jim Crow, to the Great Migration. Laurence Cossu-Beaumont examines Wright's book within the frame of American documentary photography that was produced in the 1930s and early 1940s. As Cossu-Beaumont's

essay shows, Wright's "folk history" of African American life is carefully crafted to contest the more conventional photo-documentary projects of the Depression era by exposing the kinds of racial discrimination that were prominent in such works.

[36] A number of photographers took part in the FSA project over the years, including Walker Evans, Arthur Rothstein, Edwin Rosskam, Theodor Jung, Dorothea Lange, Carl Mydans, Russell Lee, Ben Shahn, Jack Delano, Marion Post Wolcott, John Vachon, and Gordon Parks. See Peter Walther's "Introduction" to *New Deal Photography*, 14-15, 18.

[37] Cossu-Beaumont cites the work of several historians who report that these exhibits ranged from modest 30-picture travelling exhibits put together by the FSA, to providing material for the annual *U.S. Camera Salon* as early as 1935 and 1936, to the more impressive 1938 Grand Central Palace Show and its posters on "How the American People Live" (6).

[38] Edwin Rosskam (1903-1985) was one of the photographers employed by the FSA. In 1941, Rosskam collaborated with Wright (as the director of photography) on *Twelve Million Black Voices*. All the photographs for Wright's book were culled from FSA files. Commenting on the series of photos that is accompanied by Wright's text, Jack B. Moore notes: "These are catalogues, but they are also cuts in a montage, in films, a technique for telling a story quickly, for making a point or creating an impression rapidly, by juxtaposing brief, often particularly scenic and suggestive images that in themselves are undeveloped but that accumulated in a sequence tell a story or deliver a message" (pp. 415-24).

[39] Margaret Bourke-White (1904-1971) was well known for her contributions to photojournalism, especially the work she did for *Life* magazine. She was first hired by Henry Luce at *Fortune* magazine in 1929 but became one of the first four staff photographers at *Life* when it launched in 1936. That year she began collaborating with writer Erskine Caldwell, with whom she published three critically acclaimed,

best-selling photo-documentary books: *You Have Seen Their Faces* (1937), followed by *North of the Danube* (1939), and *Say, This Is The USA?* (1941).

[40] Franklin D. Roosevelt's "Second Inaugural Address: 'I See One-Third of a nation Ill-Housed, Ill-Clad, Ill-Nourished,' 20 January 1937," in *The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt*, ed. Samuel I Rosenman (Macmillan 1941), pp. 4-5.

[41] As William E. Leuchtenburg points out, the New Deal not only discriminated on the basis of race, it was also biased against women, Mexican Americans, labour union members, and immigrants (although many of the unions were, in fact, very astute in dealing with FDR.) "The experiences of American women during the Roosevelt years, like the experiences of African Americans, were marked by both victories and setbacks. In one respect, women achieved notable success: in unprecedented numbers, they began to fill important positions in the federal government." Yet, many of the New Deal's relief, employment, and welfare programs "were intended primarily for men.... the 1933 Economy Act prohibited the federal government from hiring members of the same family, which meant women lost their jobs; the NRA allowed employers to pay women less than men, even for doing the same job.... [T]he Social Security Act did not provide for domestics, large percentages of whom were women.... [S]ex and race discrimination intersected in many New Deal programs, a dynamic that left African American women outside of the already leaky protective umbrella of the New Deal." By 1930 there were more than 1.1 million persons of Mexican descent living in the American southwest. During the Great Depression, the US government, "looking to solve the region's unemployment problem ... forcibly sent nearly 400,000 Mexicans and Mexican Americans (some of them citizens)" back to Mexico. Those Mexicans who remained in the US, like other recent immigrants, typically faced backbreaking, low-paying work or unemployment

and grinding poverty. Ironically, however, "*[m]ost important to the [Democratic] Party's success ... was the emotional attachment [these] people felt toward FDR. They believed that he was their President and saw him [as] a father figure who watched after their interests*." Leuchtenburg, "Franklin D. Roosevelt: The American Franchise," np.; emphasis mine. (See: https://millercenter.org/president/fdroosevelt/the-american-franchise.) In fact, one important reason Wright was a Communist is that it was the only party that demanded full civil rights.

[42] A number of critical works trace the history of the corporation and its production of culture. See above, n. 4.

[43] See Walter Lippman, *Public Opinion*, p. 230.

[44] Luce's interest in managerialism reflected a devotion to the utopia of the technocratic/managerial/engineering class during the decade, developed by both the political left and the political right.

[45] As Allred notes, Raymond Williams uses "total flow" to describe the aesthetics of TV programming: "this concept emphasizes the capacity of television, as well as photo-based magazines, to render the various fragments of text, sound, and image and the mixture of advertising and content as a continuous experience" (see "American Modernism," p. 237).

[46] See Louden Wainwright's *The Great American Magazine: An Inside History of* Life (Alfred A. Knopf, 1986).

[47] Henry Luce, "Address to the Commissars," in *The Ideas of Henry Luce*, ed. John Knox Jessup (Atheneum, 1969), pp. 36-37

[48] Henry Luce, quoted in Wainwright, *Magazine*, p. 91. From a confidential memo, "Redefinition," March 1937.

[49] Luce's essay, published under the title "The American Century," was originally provisionally titled, "We Americans." It emphasizes Luce's homogenizing vision for the nation. As Allred notes, the central thrust of the article was to convince *Life's*

twenty million readers to mobilize for war against the Axis powers. Although Luce concedes that the Axis posed no imminent threat to America, he urges the United States to intervene nonetheless. The imperialistic rhetoric of Luce's speech is a reminder of Virginia Woolf and W. H. Auden's theories of how patriarchy at home leads to militarism and war abroad.

[50] In the "Notes" that form their commentary on the *Pierre Rivière* file, Foucault and his team of researchers trace specific ways in which the dominant groups in society enact the process of subjugation that Reilly describes. While, like Foucault, Agee does not focus on raced (or gendered) relations—he was alert to race but less attuned to issues of gender inequality—he makes it clear that society categorizes people hierarchically. African Americans, women, immigrants—all those whom Agee would consider simply members of the human race—are targetted, grouped, and ranked along precisely such discriminatory lines. This in turn affects the rights and respect that they are accorded as citizens. As the scene at the "Negro" foreman's home in *Famous Men* shows (see pp. 23 -28), landlords feel free to treat their African American tenants in far more demeaning and demoralizing ways than they would their white counterparts. Men exert dominance over women. Agee describes Emma Woods, married at sixteen to a man her father's age, as being trapped in a "cruel" and "restricted" situation, expected to obey and follow her husband, even though it means tearing herself away from family and everything she loves (*FM 55).*

[51] The reference to Bigger's jaw harkens back to the "construction of the criminal" in the nineteenth century by Cesare Lombroso and others whose theories linked criminal psychopathy to inherited physical or constitutional defects. See Ch. 1, Section III: "The Fabrication of Delinquency," specifically p. 21 as well as the discussion of Lombroso and his theories pp. 39-40, and n. 17 & 44.

[52] *Trader Horn* (1931) was an actual movie starring Harry Carey, Edwina Booth, and Duncan Renaldo, directed by W. S. Van Dyke. It was the first non-documentary film

shot primarily on location in Africa—Kenya was then a British colony—and it was nominated for an Academy Award for Best Picture that same year. Based on a book of the same name by Alfred Aloysius Horn, *Trader Horn* depicts the adventures of real-life trader and adventurer A. A. Horn while on safari in Africa. As the "Notes" to the 2005 Harper Perennial Modern Classics edition of *Native Son* explain, the story "is about a woman who is kidnapped by an African 'tribe' who worship her as a white goddess. She is found by Trader Horn and another white man, both of whom fall in love with her" (*NS* 490).

[53] One of the first major American novels to use posters and billboards in this symbolic way is F. Scott Fitzgerald's *The Great Gatsby*. Wright's description of the index finger pointing out of the poster at passers-by is reminiscent of a British army "Lord Kitchener" WWI recruitment poster that was adapted for the American army, "Uncle Sam Wants You!" (See Fig. 40). This intertextual gesture underlines connections that Wright (like Woolf, Auden, and later Foucault) makes between the nation/state and militarism and war.

[54] A sky-writing plane is also a powerful symbol of modernity in Virginia Woolf's novel, *Mrs Dalloway* (1925).

[55] Reilly takes his point from Ian Watt, quoting from Watt's influential study, *The Rise of the Novel: Studies in Defoe, Richardson and Fielding* (U of California P, 1957), pp. 31-2.

[56] See Irving Howe's "Black Boys and Native Sons," *Dissent*, *10* (Autumn 1963).

[57] The following passage provides an example of Wright's use of free indirect narration to express Bigger's feelings when he is unable to articulate them himself: "Bigger felt so empty and beaten that he slid to the floor.... He lay on the cold floor sobbing; but really he was pushing forward with his puny strength against a world too big and too strong for him" (*NS* 310). As Raphaël Lambert suggests, "Wright wants the reader to feel what Bigger feels but Bigger's inability to voice his own

feeling thwarts such an endeavour." Lambert cites Valérie Smith's argument that "Wright's use of free indirect speech [is what] enables Bigger to find a voice." ("*Native Son* Beyond the Page," 189).

[58] The quoted line, "The long strange words they used ..." is taken from the 1966 Perennial Classic edition of Wright's text: Richard Wright, *Native Son* (1940); rpt. Harper and Row, 1966. All other references are to the Harper Perennial Modern Classics edition, published in 1998. The latter edition does not include this particular line. According to the publishers, the latter volume contains "the last version [of the text of *Native Son*] that Wright prepared without external intervention." (See "Note on the Texts," *NS* 485).

[59] There have been numerous different critical interpretations of the ending of *Native Son*. Reilly makes reference to a differing interpretation of the final scene, namely that Max, Bigger's lawyer, is fundamentally incapable of understanding Bigger's humanity. For a more fulsome explanation of this particular alternative interpretation, see: Joyce Ann Joyce, *Richard Wright's Art of Tragedy*, pp. 114-116.

[60] As previously discussed, Henry James also comments on the American public's seemingly inexhaustible desire for material wealth in *The American Scene* (1905), suggesting that the production of desire is part of the process of governmentality, or a means of population management.

[61] Lionel Trilling's celebrated review of *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men*, entitled "Greatness with One Fault in It", was published in *The Kenyon Review*, vol. 4, no. 1 (Winter 1942), pp. 99-102.

[62] *Signs* was a book produced in 1998 by the J. Paul Getty Museum featuring fifty of Walker Evans's photographs of signs, billboards, posters, and street graffiti from the Getty collection in Los Angeles. The work also includes an introductory essay by Andrei Codrescu, writer, commentator, and former Professor of English at Louisiana State University.

[63] There are two important biographies of Walker Evans. The first was published by Belinda Rathbone in 1995, followed by James R. Mellow's work, published in 1999. Both books are entitled, *Walker Evans*.

[64] See *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men*, Note 3, pp. 398-401. For source information, see also: "Famous Men." *Bookend: The New York Times On The Web*. pp. 2-3.

[65] See Allred's *American Modernism and Depression Documentary*, which discusses these two works, p. 107.

[66] See Michel Foucault's *Discipline and Punish*, Part One: "Torture: The body of the condemned," the description of the prison time-table, pp. 6-7.

[67] Echoes of Auden's poem "The Shield of Achilles" with its description of the oppressive weight of a leaden sky reverberate in these lines. The Foucauldian-sounding lines read:

> She looked over his shoulder
>
> For vines and olive trees,
>
> Marble well-governed cities,
>
> And ships upon untamed seas,
>
> But there on the shining metal
>
> His hands had put instead
>
> *An artificial wilderness*
>
> *And a sky like lead.*

See Edward Mendelson's *W. H. Auden: Selected Poems*, p. 206; emphasis mine.

[68] In *Discipline and Punish*, Part Three: section 1, entitled "Docile Bodies," Foucault describes how bodies become instruments of labour; how in the eighteenth century the body became the "object and target of power." Foucault explains how, via disciplinary methods, the body is "manipulated, shaped, [and] trained" to become "docile" so that it may be "subjected, used, transformed and improved" (136). Foucault traces the processes by which, in the home, in schools, in the workplace

and the military, "the technicians of discipline were elaborating procedures for the individual and collective coercion of bodies" (169). In a similar vein, Woolf in *Three Guineas* details the ways, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, "an educated man's daughter" was trained for marriage: "It was with a view to marriage that her mind was taught.... It was with a view to marriage that her body was educated"—all this to "bolster up the system ... the busy men, the soldiers, the lawyers, the ambassadors, the cabinet ministers," in short, "'our splendid Empire'" (159-160).

[69] Agee's words are reminiscent of a passage in the Bible, Philippians 4:8. In the King James's version this passage reads: "whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report; if there be any virtue and if there be any praise, think on these things." Agee echoes these words ironically, suggesting that social discourse, in its "infinite talent for deceit," is anything *but* something which is "pure," "lovely," and "of good report"—in other words, anything *but* "praiseworthy."

[70] See Ch. 2, n. 35 regarding Henry James, Baudelaire, and T. S. Eliot's use of the word "swarm."

[71] This passage evokes the closing lines from James Joyce's story "The Dead": "snow was general all over Ireland. It was falling on every part of the dark central plain, on the treeless hills, on the Bog of Allen and, farther westward, softly falling into the dark mutinous Shannon waves. It was falling, too, upon every part of the lonely churchyard on the hill where Michael Furey lay buried. It lay thickly drifted on the crooked crosses and headstones, on the spears of the little gate, on the barren thorns. [Gabriel's] soul swooned slowly as he heard the snow falling faintly through the universe and faintly falling, like the descent of their last end, upon all the living and the dead" (*Dubliners,* p. 207).

[72] The "register of ... unrecognized people and their lives" is theorized by Foucault in his "Two Lectures" essays, where he distinguishes between what "counts" as "erudite knowledge" and all of the "subjugated knowledge" that is hidden, excluded, silenced. (See "TL," *Power/Knowledge,* 78-108).

[73] Woolf expresses similar sentiments in *Three Guineas* when she exhorts women to maintain their "freedom from unreal loyalties." Such "seducers" as "money" and "pride," she maintains, are society's way of "brib[ing people] into captivity" (*TG* 75).

[74] Almost half a century after the publication of Agee/ Evans's *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men*, another journalist, Dale Maharidge, and a different photographer, Michael Williamson, returned to Hale County Alabama to trace what happened to the families and descendants of the farmers whose lives had been so movingly portrayed in Agee/Evan's work. Their Pulitzer prize winning book, entitled *And Their Children After Them*, was published in 1989. Its title alludes to the passage in Deuteronomy 6:2-12, which suggests that respect for God's commandments will allow the lowly to "increase mightily ... in the land that floweth with milk and honey," ensuring that all will be "well with them, and with their children for ever!" Heartbreakingly, the book's authors find that, in fact, Maggie Louise Gudger, who as an intelligent ten-year old impressed Agee and Evans as a young woman with promise, had after a short and tragic life trying to struggle out of poverty, killed herself (on her third attempt at suicide, at age 45) by swallowing rat poison Maharidge quotes her sister and children who told him that cotton had killed Maggie Louise: "It started with the institutionalized cruelty with which the tenants were treated. It was drilled into her, and by the end 'she didn't care which way she went.'" More hopefully, some of her children had finished high school and talked of going to college.

[75] The title of Agee/Evans's work is a quotation taken from one of the Apocrypha of the Old Testament, "Let us now praise famous men and our fathers that begat us."

Agee quotes the entire passage at the conclusion of his text, pp. 391-92, just before his "Notes and Appendices" and his coda, "*(On the Porch: 3*" (sic).

"Let us now praise famous men —" is also the first line of Rudyard Kipling's poem, "A School Song," which was published in *Harper's Weekly* magazine in September 1899. The poem is Kipling's hymn of praise to the masters of his a*lma mater,* the United Services College at Westward Ho!, Devon, a school whose mission it was to prepare boys for the British army. Kipling views his former instructors as men who have gone unrecognized but whom he believes are deserving of being memorialized for their role in literally having "beaten" into their male students the kinds of personality traits and attitudes required of these future leaders of the empire. Kipling's poem is a celebration of imperial authority and service to the nation. Agee, on the other hand, quotes the biblical passage in the spirit of his deep reverence for all living beings, most especially the humble poor, who "perish" without "memorial" but who should be remembered and included always as "children ... within the covenant."

[76] There were, however, radical writers, such as Randolph Bourne (1886-1918), who argued vociferously that while America was using democracy as a means to justify the war, democracy itself was never examined. In his posthumously published essay, "The State" (1918), Bourne famously claimed: "War is the health of the state." (See: http://fair-use.org/randolph-bourne/the-state/ n. pag.). In an earlier article entitled "Trans-National America," Bourne called for a reconsideration of the "melting-pot" theory, insisting that the United States should accommodate immigrant cultures into a "cosmopolitan America" instead of forcing new arrivals to assimilate. (See: https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/1916/07/trans-national-america/304838/)

Conclusions:

"Confronting Governments: Human Rights"[1]

Speaking about modern fiction to the Heretics Society at Cambridge University in May of 1924, Virginia Woolf made the claim that "[i]n or about December 1910, human character changed.... The change was not sudden and definite.... But a change there was nevertheless" (BB 319). About that time, Woolf asserts, "all human relations shifted—those between masters and servants, husbands and wives, parents and children." And, she concludes, "when human relations change there is at the same time a change in conduct, politics, and literature" (321). Woolf's linking of politics and literature in their socio-cultural and historical contexts raises a key issue that my dissertation has attempted to address. The goal of this project has been to map political modernism against and alongside cultural/literary Modernism to advance the argument that the concurrent crises of "representation" (the demands for electoral reform and the push for new aesthetic modes in the period 1900–1939) were closely and inextricably linked. This premise raises the question: what, exactly, is the relation between these parallel crises of "representation"?

As has been emphasized, this was a tumultuous era. Catastrophic events such as war and widespread economic depression proved that, as Richard Wright insisted, "people were living in a world whose fundamental assumptions could no longer be taken for granted: a world riven with national and class strife; a world whose metaphysical meanings had vanished" (HB 446). Modernist writers were confronted with this fact and with the dilemma that accompanied it: they had neither literary conventions nor techniques adequate to the task of capturing and conveying the import of these changed relations to their readers. "The tools of one generation," Woolf declares, "were useless for the next." New and different voices needed to be

heard. Young writers were obliged to abolish old forms in order to invent new means of expression. "And so," Woolf argues, "the smashing and crashing began" (BB 330, 332-33).

Modris Eksteins has observed that "an important impulse behind experimentation in the arts [at this time] was a quest for liberation, a break in aesthetic and moral terms, from central authority, from patriarchy, from bourgeois conformity." As he goes on to point out, "it was no surprise that much of the psychological and spiritual momentum for this break came from the peripheries, geographical, social, generational, and sexual. The emphasis on youth, sensuality, homosexuality, the unconscious, the primitive, and the socially deprived originated in large part ... on the borders of traditional hegemony" (*Rites* 68). The same patterns were apparent in the political arena. Rejection of the old order and demands for representation came from those long barred access to the most fundamental of legal and human rights.

In his "Two Lectures" essays, Foucault comes at the problem of representation from a slightly different angle, that is, from the idea of "the inhibiting effect of global, *totalitarian* theories." Noting "a certain fragility in the bedrock of existence," Foucault perceives an opportunity and affirms the need for "an autonomous, non-centralized kind of theoretical production, one that is to say, whose validity is not dependent on the approval of established régimes of thought" (80-81). In the lectures, the "register of ... unrecognized people and their lives" is theorized by Foucault when he distinguishes between what "counts" as "erudite knowledge" and all of the "subjugated knowledges" that are hidden, excluded, and effectively silenced. The task of research and criticism, Foucault contends, is "to entertain the claims to attention of local, discontinuous, disqualified, illegitimate knowledges against the claims of a unitary body of theory which would filter, hierarchise and order them in the name of some true knowledge and some arbitrary

idea of what constitutes a science and its objects" (TL 83). The goal must be to promote "*the insurrection of subjugated knowledges*" that are "opposed primarily not to the contents, methods or concepts of a science, but to the effects of the centralizing powers which are linked to the institution and functioning of an organized scientific discourse within a society such as ours" (TL 81, 84). Various projects, Foucault insists, must "attempt to emancipate historical knowledges from that subjection, to render them, that is, capable of opposition and of struggle against the coercion of a theoretical, unitary, formal and scientific discourse" (TL 85). This necessarily entails anatomizing such discourses and criticizing them in a manner via which the political violence they perpetrate can be revealed. In the context of re-thinking the concept of the citizen in relation to the modern nation-state, this is precisely what the works examined in this dissertation attempt to do.

The writers whose texts have been the focus of this study form an eclectic group, coming from vastly different places, backgrounds, and sets of experiences. They are markedly distinct in their approaches, their methods, forms, and genres, as well as the views they expound. Like Modernist artists generally, they represent a wide range of political opinion. Many key Modernists, like Henry James, were political reactionaries longing for the old established order; many (including most examined here) were revolutionary in their thinking. Some were very right-wing, some strongly left-wing, politically. Others, like Woolf and Auden, had complicated views, which were continually evolving in response to their travels, their exposure to new ideas, and their reactions to major events of their day. So, what binds this particular, improbable group of politically engaged artists? Simply put, all were extremely distrustful of state power. All, like Foucault, were compelled to examine what they believed were the insidious workings of national governments, the capitalist forces that drive them, and the military-diplomatic set of organizations that furnish the nation's mechanisms of security.

All the writers examined were, in one sense or another, outsiders. As such they brought a cosmopolitan sensibility to their respective critiques. All were reacting to the expansion of state power aimed at protecting the nation and privileging the interests of the dominant class at the expense of those "other" genders, races, and classes of society that had always been excluded and stripped of the right to a voice. All worked, finally, to expose, question, and dismantle certain world-views that they recognized were being "normalized" in national, institutional, and popular discourse. Most importantly—despite these authors having moments of profound pessimism—their texts share the fundamental premise that art and language have power.

Art has the ability to fracture forms, break with convention, unsettle spatial relations and causal chronologies, play with perspective, and incorporate elements that are foreign, or disruptive, to aesthetic tradition. It has, moreover, the capability, as Joyce and Agee show, of exceeding its own formal structural and discursive bounds. Crucially, art and literature provide a forum for debate. Language can both "hold sway" and possess "the capacity to sway." In the prior sense, it has clout, weight, authority, and control, while in the later sense, it has the ability to affect, influence, convince, and transform. As these writer/artists were acutely aware, language is always political; all description/ depiction is a political act. In the debates over citizenship and the bitter struggles to challenge the political and legal *constructions* of the concept of the citizen, language and literary/artistic form were the weapons that Modernist writer/artists employed to contest received knowledge and overturn convention. While art and literature can be vehicles of power, they can also be sites of resistance, the means of expanding understandings of the human condition, unmasking the violence of political relations, and changing consciousness about the ways in which social concepts and identities are formed in discourse. Responding to the political exigencies of their times, these artists leverage the digressive, indeterminate, persuasive, eloquent, and evocative potential of words in entirely new and inventive ways to challenge

conventional meanings and understandings and to refuse the ideological bases on which their respective nations were built. In this way, they vigorously and substantively dispute official versions of the truth and imagine, as Rushdie suggests, "a world in their own image" (*Imaginary* 14) The right to a voice and the freedom to engage openly and passionately in dialogue, discussion, and debate are, after all, what differentiates even a nominally democratic nation from a totalitarian state.

The problem that confronts these writer/artists—Conrad, James, Woolf, Joyce, Auden, Loy, Wright and Agee/Evans included—is how to extend rights to groups barred, either *de jure* or *de facto*, from full citizenship and how to do this with the measure of dignity that all human beings deserve. This quandary raises a number of further concerns that are explored in the texts. First and foremost, one is compelled to ask the anarchist question: is the construct of the nation, as formulated in modernity, the appropriate vehicle for such a daunting task? While the nation may have become the global framework for world order, it is anything but egalitarian when it comes to granting and defending citizens' rights.

Secondly, as Hepburn has observed: although "theories of statehood typically attribute unity to states, ... such unity is more imagined than real." Yet the state, "everywhere invisible but nevertheless inferred, regulates citizenship." Moreover, "in the face of globalization" states continually "adjust their laws" and evolve their discursive methods of maintaining control (Hepburn 24). This ongoing recalibration of governmentality (necessitating the continual re-examining, reappraisal, and reworking of arguments to counter the "erudite knowledge" of the state) only adds to the problem of how issues of democratic citizenship might be tackled.

Thirdly, and most importantly, the texts attempt to understand the relation between *the human* and the citizen. As Janice Ho, quoting Nikolas Rose, observes, "'biological presuppositions, explicitly or implicitly, ... [underlie] many citizenship projects, shap[ing] conceptions of what it means to be a citizen, and underpinn[ing]

distinctions between actual, potential, troublesome, and impossible citizens'" (*Politics* 132). "In this view, derived from Michel Foucault's theory of biopolitcs," Ho states, "physiological and political life, far from being separate, are intimately connected insofar as anthropological definitions of the human circumscribe who might or might not be deemed a citizen; under a regime of biopower, the human is subjected to myriad forms of political control designed to produce the proper citizen." As Ho astutely recognizes, meaningful *representation* of the singularity and dignity of being "expands conceptions of what it means to be human and consequently challenges classifications of citizenship predicated on biologically normative definitions. Put differently," she concludes, "the literary sphere acts as an epistemological alternative to political theory by constructing an imaginative space in which we might rethink intersections between the embodied existence of the human and the abstract life of the citizen" (108).

In "Confronting Governments: Human Rights,"[2] Foucault makes an argument for "international citizenship," which he defines as involving "rights" and "duties." On one hand he speaks of the right "of private individuals to ... intervene in the sphere of international policy and strategy. On the other, he insists on the duty of the citizen to speak out against the "abuse of power ... to always bring the testimony of people's suffering to the eyes and ears of governments" (*Power* 474). Foucault believes firmly that everyone is subjugated in discourse: "It is in discourse that power and knowledge are joined" (*HS* 100)—yet, "[t]he will of individuals," he insists, "must make a place for itself in a reality" which governments have attempted to monopolize for themselves. "[T]hat monopoly ... we need to wrest from them little by little ... day by day" (*Power* 475). As the writers and texts examined in this dissertation demonstrate, art and literature are one place to start, one way to imagine a just, global future.

Endnotes

[1] Foucault's statement "Confronting Governments: Human Rights" is reprinted in *Michel Foucault: Power*, 474-5.

[2] The occasion for this statement, published in *Libération* in June 1984, was the announcement in Geneva of the creation of an International Committee against Piracy.

Works Cited

Agee, James. *The Letters of James Agee to Father Flye*. Edited by James Harold Flye. Melville House, 2014.

Agee, James, and Walker Evans. *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men*. Houghton Mifflin, 1941.

---, *Cotton Tenants: Three Families*. 1936. Edited by John Summers, Melville House, 2013.

Allred, Jeff. *American Modernism and Depression Documentary*. Oxford UP, 2009.

Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism*. Revised ed., Verso, 2006.

Anderson, Robert. *Sidelights on the Home Rule Movement*. Dutton, 1906. www.archive.org/details/sidelightsonhome00ande.

Arata, Stephen. "*The Secret Agent*. 1907." *A Joseph Conrad Companion*. Greenwood, 1999. pp. 165-194.

Arendt, Hannah. *On Revolution*. 1963. Penguin, 2006.

Arnold, Elizabeth. "Mina Loy and the Futurists." *Sagetrieb: A Journal Devoted to Poets in the Imagist/Objectivist Tradition*, vol. 8, nos.1-2, 1989, pp. 83-117.

Attridge, Derek. Foreword. Cheng, pp. 11-14.

---, Introduction. *James Joyce's Ulysses: A Casebook*. Attridge, pp. 3-16.

---, *James Joyce's Ulysses: A Casebook*. Edited by Derek Attridge. Oxford UP, 2004.

Auden, W. H. Introduction. *The American Scene, Together with Three Essays from 'Portraits and Places,' by Henry James*. Charles Scribner's Sons, 1946.

---, *Selected Poems: New Edition*. Edited by Edward Mendelson. Vintage 1979.

---, *W. H. Auden: Selected Poems Expanded Edition*. Edited by Edward Mendelson. Vintage, 2007.

Baker, Houston A. "Richard Wright and the Dynamics of Place in Afro-American Literature." *New Essays on Native Son*. Edited by Keneth Kinnamon. Cambridge UP, 1990. pp. 85-116.

Balibar, Étienne and Immanuel Wallerstein. *Race, Nation, Class: Ambiguous Identities*. Translated by Chris Turner. Verso, 1991.

Barrett, Michele. Introduction. *A Room of One's Own/ Three Guineas*, by Virginia Woolf, edited by Michele Barrett, Penguin, 1993, pp. ix- liii.

Baughman, James L. *Henry Luce and the Rise of the American News Media*. Twayne, 1997.

Benhabib, Seyla. *The Rights of Others: Aliens, Residents and Citizens*. Cambridge UP, 2004.

Bezner, Lili Corbus. *Photography and Politics in America: From the New Deal into the Cold War*. John Hopkins UP, 1999.

The Bible. Authorized King James Version, Oxford UP, 1998.

Billig, Michael. *Banal Nationalism*. Sage, 1995.

Black, Naomi. *Virginia Woolf as Feminist*. Cornell UP, 2004.

Blair, Sara. "Documenting the Alien: Racial Theatre in *The American Scene*." *Henry James and the Writing of Race and Nation*. Cambridge UP, 1996. pp. 158-210.

Blamires, Harry. *The New Bloomsday Book: A Guide Through* Ulysses. 3rd ed., Routledge, 1996.

Bosniak, Linda. *The Citizen and the Alien: Dilemmas of Contemporary Membership*. Princeton UP, 2006.

Bourdieu, Pierre. *Language and Symbolic Power*. Edited by John B. Thompson. Translated by Gino Raymond and Matthew Adamson. Harvard UP, 1991.

Brown, Mllton W. *The Story of the Armory Show*. Joseph H. Hishorn Foundation. 1963.

Buelens, Gert. *Henry James and the 'Aliens' In Possession of the American Scene*. Rodopi, 2002.

Burchell, Graham, et al., editors. *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality with Two Lectures and an Interview by Michel Foucault*. U of Chicago P, 1991.

Burgess, John W. *Recent Changes in American Constitutional Theory*. 1923. Kessinger, 2004.

Burgoyne, Mary. "Conrad among The Anarchists: Documents on Martial Bourdin and the Greenwich Bombing." *The Conradian*, vol. 32, no.1, pp. 147-185.

Burke. Carolyn. *Becoming Modern: The Life of Mina Loy*. Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 1996.

---, "The New Poetry and the New Woman: Mina Loy." Middlebrook and Yalom. pp. 37-57.

----, "Without Commas: Gertrude Stein and Mina Loy." *Poetics Journal*, vol. 4, May 1984, pp. 43-52.

Cardozo, Benjamin. "Law and Literature." 1931. *Law and Literature and Other Essays and Addresses*. Fred B. Rothman, 1986, pp. 3-40.

Cheng, Vincent J. *Joyce, Race, and Empire*. Cambridge UP, 1995.

Codrescu, Adrei. "Essay." *Walker Evans Signs*. Edited by John Harris. The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, 1998, pp. 1-65.

Cohen, Ralph. *Studies in Historical Change*. U of Virginia P, 1992.

Cohen, Robin. *The Cambridge Survey of World Migration*. Cambridge UP, 1995.

Comstock, Margaret. "The Loudspeaker and the Human Voice: Politics and the Form of *The Years*." *Bulletin of the New York Public Library*, vol. 80, Winter 1977, pp. 252-75.

Conrad, Joseph. "Author's Note." 1920. *The Secret Agent: A Simple Tale*. 1907. Edited by John Lyon. Oxford World Classics, 2008, pp. 228-233.

---, *The Collected Letters of Joseph Conrad*. Edited by Frederick R. Karl and Laurence Davies. Cambridge UP, 1983.

---, *The Secret Agent: A Simple Tale*. 1907. Edited by John Lyon. Oxford World Classics, 2008.

Cookson, William, ed. *Ezra Pound Selected Prose 1909-1965*. New Directions, 1973.

Corwin, Edwin. "The 'Higher Law' Background of American Constitutional Law." Reprinted from the *Harvard Law Review*. 1928-29, vol. 42, Cornell UP, 1955, pp. 149-85, 365-409.

Cossu-Beaumont, Laurence. "Twelve Million Black Voices: Let Us Now Hear Black Voices." *Transatlantica*, February 2014, pp. 1-29.

Costello, Bonnie and Rachel Galvin, editors. *Auden at Work*. Palgrave MacMillan, 2015.

Crane, Gregg D. *Race, Citizenship, and Law in American Literature*. Cambridge UP, 2002.

Cunningham, Valentine. *British Writers of the Thirties*. Oxford UP, 1988.

Curtis, Lewis P., Jr. *Apes and Angels: The Irishman in Victorian Caricature*. David and Charles, 1971.

---, *Anglo-Saxons*: *A Study of Anti-Irish Prejudice in Victorian England*. U of Bridgeport, 1968.

Dangerfield, George. *The Strange Death of Liberal England.* 1935. Stanford UP, 1997.

Davenport-Hines, Richard. *Auden*. William Heinemann, 1995.

Davis, Thomas Osborne. *The Poems of Thomas Davis*. D. & J. Sadlier, 1866. www.poemhunter.com/poem/a-nation-once-again/

Deane, Seamus. "Joyce and Nationalism." *Celtic Revivals: Essays in Modern Irish Literature, 1880-1890*. Faber, 1985, pp. 92-107.

Deer, Patrick. "Auden and Wars." *W. H. Auden In* Context. Edited by Tony Sharpe. Cambridge UP, 2013, pp. 150-159.

Denby, David. "A Famous Man: The Collected Works of James Agee." *The New Yorker*, Books, 9 January 2006, pp. 1-22.

Dicey, Albert Venn. *Introduction to the Study of the Law of the Constitution*. 8th Ed. 1915. www.constitution.org/cmt/avd/law_com.htm

Douglas, Ann. *Terrible Honesty: Mongrel Manhattan in the 1920s*. Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1995.

Downes, Lawrence. "Of Poor Farmers and 'Famous Men.'" *The New York Times Sunday Review*, 26 Nov. 2011, pp. 1-3.

DuPlessis, Rachael Blau. "Seismic Orgasm: Sexual Intercourse, Gender Narratives and Lyric Ideology in Mina Loy." Cohen, *Studies in Historical Change*, pp. 264-292.

Eagleton, Terry. *Literary Theory: An Introduction*. U of Minnesota P, 2008.

Edel, Leon. "Henry James: American Writer." *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*. Encyclopædia Britannica, 2015. www.britannica.com/biography/Henry-James-American-writer

Edel, Leon. *The Life of Henry James*. Lippincott, 1977. 5 vols.

Eksteins, Modris. *Rites of Spring: The Great War and the Birth of the Modern Age*. Vintage Canada, 2012.

Ellmann, Richard. *James Joyce*. Revised ed., Oxford UP, 1983.

Elson, Robert T. *Time Inc.: The Intimate History of a Publishing Enterprise 1923-1941*. 3 vols. Atheneum, 1968.

Evans, Walker. Foreword. *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men*. Houghton Mifflin, 1941.

Feldman, D. *Englishmen and Jews: Social Relations and Political Culture 1840-1914*. Yale UP, 1994.

Foucault, Michel. *Discipline and Punish*. (*Surveiller et Punir*). Gallimard, 1979.

---, *Omnes et Singulatim: Towards a Criticism of 'Political Reason*.' The Tanner Lectures on Human Value. Edited by S. M. McMurrin. Cambridge UP, 1980-81. 2 vols.

---, *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972-1977*. Edited by Colin Gordon, translated by Colin Gordon, et al., Vintage, 1980.

---, *Security, Territory, Population. Lectures at the College de France 1977-1978*. Edited by Michel Senellart, translated by Graham Burchell. Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.

---, *The Foucault Reader*. Edited by Paul Rabinow. Vintage, 2010.

---, *The History of Sexuality: Volume I: An Introduction*. Vintage, 1998.

---, "The Subject and Power" and Afterword. *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics*. 2nd Ed., edited by Hubert L. Dreyfus and Paul Rabinow. U of Chicago P, 1983, pp. 208-228.

---, *The Will To Knowledge*. Translated by R. Hurley. Penguin, 1978.

---, "Truth and Power." *Michel Foucault: Power/Knowledge*: *Selected Interviews & Other Writings 1972-1977*. Edited by Colin Gordon, translated by Colin Gordon, et al., Vintage, 1980, pp. 109-133.

---, "Two Lectures." *Michel Foucault: Power/Knowledge*: *Selected Interviews & Other Writings 1972-1977*. Edited by Colin Gordon, translated by Colin Gordon, et al., Vintage, 1980, pp. 78-108.

---, ed. *I, Pierre Rivière, having slaughtered my mother, my sister, and my brother...*: *A Case of Parricide in the 19th Century*. Translated by Frank Jellinek. U of Nebraska P, 1975.

Foucault, Michel and Noam Chomsky. "Human Nature: Justice versus Power." *Reflexive Water: The Basic Concerns of Mankind*. Edited by Fons Elders. Souvenir Press, 1974, pp. 133-198.

Fraile, Anna Maria, ed. *Richard Wright's 'Native Son'.* Rodopi, 2007.

Freedman, Jonathan. "Henry James and the Discourses of Antisemitism." *Between 'Race' and Culture: Representations of 'the Jew' in English and American Literature*. Edited by Bryan Cheyette. Stanford UP, 1996, pp. 62-83.

Frost, Elizabeth A, *The Feminist Avant-Garde in American Poetry*. U of Iowa P, 2003.

Fuller, John. *A Reader's Guide to W. H. Auden*. Thames and Hudson, 1970.

---, *W. H. Auden: A Commentary*. Princeton UP, 1998.

Gainer, Bernard. *The Alien Invasion: The Origins of the Aliens Act of 1905*. Heinemann Educational, 1972.

Galvin, Rachel. "Auden's 1939 Journal: A Wartime Writer at Work." *Auden at Work*. Edited by Costello, Bonnie and Rachel Galvin. Palgrave MacMillan, 2015, pp. 24-48.

Garnett, Jane, ed. *Matthew Arnold: Culture and Anarchy*. 1869. Oxford UP, 2006.

Gasyna, George Z., *Polish, Hybrid, and Otherwise: Exilic Discourse in Joseph Conrad and Witold Gombrowicz*. Continuum International, 2011.

Gellner, Ernest. *Nations and Nationalism*. Cornell UP, 1983.

Gifford, Don with Robert J. Seidman. *Ulysses Annotated: Notes for James Joyce's 'Ulysses'*. Rev. ed. *of Notes for Joyce*. 1974. U of California P, 1989.

Gilbert, Sandra M. and Susan Gubar. *The Madwoman in the Attic: The Woman Writer and the Nineteenth Century Literary Imagination*. 2nd Ed., Yale UP, 2000.

Gilbert, Stuart. *James Joyce's* 'Ulysses': *A Study*. 1930. Knopf, 1950.

Glover, David. "Aliens, Anarchists and Detectives: Legislating the Immigrant Body." *New Formations*, vol. 32, Autumn/Winter 1997, pp. 22-33.

Golder, Ben, ed. *Re-Reading Foucault: on Law, Power and Rights*. Routledge, 2013.

Goodman, Susan. "Henry James and the American Idea." *Humanities*, vol. 32, no. 4, July/August 2011. www.neh.gov/humanities/2011/julyaugust/feature/henry-james-and-the-american-idea

Goodwin, James. "The Depression Era in Black and White: Four American Photo-Texts." *Criticism—A Quarterly for Literature & the Arts*, vol. 40, no. 2, 1998, pp. 273-307.

Grass, Sean. "W. H. Auden, from Spain to 'Oxford'." *South Atlantic Review*, vol. 66, no. 1, Winter 2001, pp. 84-101.

Gutting, Gary*. Foucault: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford UP, 2005.

Hama, Mark. "'A Palpable Gift of Time': The Convergence of World Standard Time and Mass Advertising in Henry James's *The Ambassadors*." *South Atlantic Review*, vol. 69, no. 1, Winter 2004, pp. 9-32.

Hamowy, Ronald, ed. *The Encyclopedia of Libertarianism*. Sage, Cato Institute, 2008.

Hampson, Robert. *Conrad's Secrets*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.

Hastings, Adrian. *The Construction of Nationhood: Ethnicity, Religion and Nationalism*. Cambridge UP, 1997.

Haviland, Beverly. *Henry James's Last Romance: Making Sense of the Past and the American Scene*. Cambridge UP, 1997.

Hepburn, Allan, ed. *Around 1945: Literature, Citizenship, Rights*. McGill-Queen's UP, 2016.

Higgins, Lesley. *The Modernist Cult of Ugliness: Aesthetic and Gender Politics*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2002.

Higgins, Lesley and Marie-Christine Leps. "'*Passport, Please*': Legal, Literary and Critical Fictions of Identity." *College Literature*, vol. 25, no. 1, Winter 1998, pp. 94-138.

Ho, Janice. "The Human and the Citizen in Joseph Conrad's *The Secret Agent*." Hepburn, *Around 1945*, pp. 107-128.

Hobswam, Eric J. *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality*. Cambridge UP, 1990.

Horne, Philip. *Henry James and Revision: The New York Edition of the Novels and Tales of Henry James*. Oxford UP, 1990.

Hutchinson, E. P. *Legislative History of American Immigration Policy, 1789-1965*. U of Pennsylvania P, 1981.

Hynes, Samuel. *The Auden Generation: Literature and Politics in England in the 1930's*. Pimlico, 1992.

Isin, Engin Fahri. *Being Political: Genealogies of Citizenship*. U of Minnesota P, 2002.

Hakutani, Yoshunobu. *Critical Essays on Richard Wright*. Hall and Company, 1982.

Haviland, Beverly. *Henry James's Last Romance: Making Sense of the Past and the American Scene*. Cambridge UP, 1997.

Heitman, Danny. "Let Us Now Praise James Agee." *Humanities*, vol. 33, no.4, July/August, 2012, pp. 1-6.

Herzstein, Robert E. Henry R. Luce: *A Political Portrait of the Man Who Created The American Century*. Charles Scribner's Sons, 1994.

Howe, Irving. "Black Boys and Native Sons." *Dissent 10*, Autumn, 1963, pp. 353-368.

Hynes, Samuel. *The Auden Generation: Literature and Politics in England in the 1930s*. Viking, 1977.

Isin, Engin F. and Bryan S. Turner. *Handbook of Citizenship Studies*. Sage, 2002.

Jackson, Alvin. *Home Rule: An Irish History 1800–2000*. Phoenix Press, 2003.

James, Henry. *Letters of Henry James*. Edited by Percy Lubbock. Macmillan, 1920.

---, Preface. *The Ambassadors*. 1903. *Novels 1903-1911: The Ambassadors, The Golden Bowl, The Outcry*. Edited by Ross Posnock. Library of America—215. Literary Classics of the United States, Inc., 2011, pp. 3-19.

---, *The Ambassadors*. 1903. *Novels 1903-1911: The Ambassadors, The Golden Bowl, The Outcry*. Edited by Ross Posnock. Library of America—215. Literary Classics of the United States, Inc., 2011, pp. 1-430.

---, *The American Scene*. 1907. *Collected Travel Writings: Great Britain and America*. Library of America—64. Literary Classics of the United States, Inc., 1993, pp. 351-736.

---, "The Art of Fiction." 1884. Repr. in *Partial Portraits*. Macmillan, 1888. https://public.wsu.edu/~campbelld/amlit/artfiction.html

---, *The Art of the Novel: Critical Prefaces*. Edited by Richard P Blackmur. Scribner's 1934.

---. "The Question of Our Speech." 1905. *Henry James on Culture: Collected Essays on Politics and the American Social Scene*. Edited by Pierre A. Walker. U of Nebraska P, 1999, pp. 42-57.

Januzzi, Marisa. *Mina Loy: Essay on the Poetry*. National Poetry Foundation, 1997.

Jaskoski, Helen. "Mina Loy Outsider Artist." *Journal of Modern Literature*. Vol. 18, no. 4, Autumn 1993, pp. 349-68.

Jenkins, Nicholas. "Auden in America." *The Cambridge Companion to W. H. Auden*, edited by Stan Smith, Cambridge UP, 2004, pp. 39-54.

Johnson, Jeri. Introduction. *The Years* by Virginia Woolf. 1937. Penguin, 1998.

Joly, Danièle. "Whose Protection? European harmonization on asylum policy." Cohen, *The Cambridge Survey of Wolrd Migration*, pp. 496-501.

Joyce, James. *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*. 1916. Edited by Jeri Johnson. Oxford UP, 2000.

---, *Dubliners*. 1914. Edited by Jeri Johnson. Oxford UP, 2001.

---, *The Critical Writings of James Joyce*. Edited by Mason Ellsworth, and Richard Ellmann. Viking 1959. Reprint, Cornell UP, 1989.

---, "Ireland, Island of Saints and Sages." 1907. *The Critical Writings*. Edited by Ellsworth Mason and Richard Ellmann. Viking, 1959. Reprint, Cornell UP, 1989, pp. 153-174.

---, *Letters of James Joyce*. Edited by Richard Ellmann. Viking, 1996. 3 Vols.

---, *Ulysses*. 1922. Edited by Hans Walter Gabler. Vintage, 1986.

Juhász, Tamás. *Conradian Contracts: Exchange and Identity in the Immigrant Imagination*. Lexington Books, 2011.

Kazin, Alfred. *On Native Grounds: An Interpretation of Modern American Prose Literature*. Reynal & Hitchcock, 1942.

Kelly, Thomas Forrest. *Stravinsky: The Rite of Spring*. Cambridge UP, 2000.

Kershen, Anne. "The 1905 Aliens Act." *History Today*, vol. 55, no. 3, March 2005, pp. 13-19.

King, Martin Luther, Jr. "Letter from a Birmingham Jail, 16 April 1963." Published in *The Atlantic* as "The Negro is Your Brother," vol. 212, no. 2, 1963, pp. 78-88.

Kinnamon, Keneth, ed. *New Essays on Native Son*. Cambridge UP, 1990.

Knepper, Paul. "The Other Invisible Hand: Jews and Anarchists in London before the First World War." *Jewish History*, vol. 22, 2008, pp. 295-315.

Knight, Kelvin. "Same People, Different Places: Foucault's Heterotopia and the Nation in Joyce's *Ulysses*." *Prospero*, vol. 17, 2012, pp. 219-38.

Kouidis, Virginia M. *Mina Loy: American Modernist Poet*. Louisiana State UP, 1980.

---, "Mina Loy." *American National Biography Online*. www.anb.org.ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/articles/16/1602125.html?a=1&n=Mina%20Loy&d=10&ss=0&q=1

Krook, Dorothea. *Henry James's 'The Ambassadors': A Critical Study*. AMS Press, 1996.

Lambert, Raphaël. "From Page to Screen: A Comparative Study of Richard Wright's *Native Son* and Its Two Film Adaptations." Fraile, *Richard Wright's 'Native Son'*, pp. 187-202.

Landau, John. "The Story of the Story: *The Ambassadors*." *A Thing Divided: Representation in the Late Novels of Henry James*. Associated UP, 1996, pp. 56-77.

Leaska, Mitchell A., ed. *The Pargiters by Virginia Woolf*. The Hogarth Press, 1978.

Lee, Hermione. *Virginia Woolf*. Vintage, 1997.

Leps, Marie-Christine. *Apprehending the Criminal: The Production of Deviance in Nineteenth Century Discourse*. Duke UP, 1992.

Leslie, Shane. "*Ulysses*." *Quarterly Review*, October 1922, pp. 219-234.

Leuchtenburg, William E. "Franklin D. Roosevelt: The American Franchise." UVA Miller Centre. U.S. Presidents. Franklin D. Roosevelt. millercenter.org/president/fdroosevelt/the-american-franchise.

Levinson, Sanford and Steven Mailloux, eds. *Interpreting Law and Literature: A Hermeneutic Reader*. Northwestern UP, 1988.

Lewis, Pericles, ed. *The Cambridge Introduction to Modernism*. Cambridge UP, 2007.

Lippmann, Walter. *Public Opinion*. 1922. Free Press, 1997.

Loeffler, Toby H. "Erin go bragh': 'Banal Nationalism' and the Joycean Performance of Irish Nationhood." *Journal of Narrative Theory*, vol. 39, no.1, Winter 2009, pp. 29-56.

Lombroso, Cesare. *Criminal Man*. 1876. Translated by Mary Gibson and Nicole Hahn Rafter. Duke UP, 2006.

Loveland, Ian. *Constitutional Law, Administrative Law, and Human Rights: A Critical Introduction*. 5th ed. Oxford UP, 2007.

Loy, Mina. "Anglo-Mongrels and the Rose." 1923-1925. Repr. in Conover, *The Last Lunar Baedeker*, pp. 109-176.

---, "Feminist Manifesto." 1914. Repr. in Conover, *The Last Lunar Baedeker*, pp. 269-271.

---, "International Psycho-Democracy." 1920. Repr. in Conover, *The Lost Lunar Baedeker*, pp. 276-82.

---, *Lunar Baedecker* [sic]. Contact, 1923.

---, *Lunar Baedeker & Time-Tables: Selected Poems*. Edited by Jonathan Williams. Jonathan Williams, 1958.

---, "Modern Poetry." Conover, *The Lost Lunar Baedeker*. pp. 157-161.

---, *The Autobiography of Mina Loy: Anglo-Mongrels and the Rose and Colossus*. 1923. Edited by Roger L. Conover. Exact Change, 1999.

---, *The Last Lunar Baedeker*. Edited by Roger L. Conover. Jargon Society, 1982.

---, *The Lost Lunar Baedeker*. Edited by Roger L. Conover. Farrar, Straus, Giroux, 1996.

Lubbock, Percy, ed. *The Letters of Henry James*. Charles Scribner's Sons, 1920.

Lucas, John. "Auden's politics: power, authority and the individual." *The Cambridge Companion to W. H. Auden*. Edited by Stan Smith. Cambridge UP, 2004, pp. 152-164.

Luce, Henry R. "The American Century." *Life*, 17 February 1941. www.informationclearinghouse.info/article6139.htm

---, *The Ideas of Henry Luce*. Edited by John Knox Jessup. Atheneum, 1969.

Lyon, John, ed. Introduction. *The Secret Agent: A Simple Tale*, *by Joseph Conrad, 1907*. Oxford World Classics, 2008, pp. xi-xxxix, 234-45.

MacCabe, Colin*. James Joyce and the Revolution of the Word*. Macmillan, 1978.

Macardle, Dorothy. *The Irish Republic: A Documented Chronicle of the Anglo-Irish Conflict and the Partitioning of Ireland, with a Detailed Account of the Period 1916-1923*. Victor Gollancz Ltd., 1937.

MacMillan, Margaret. *Paris 1919: Six Months That Changed the World*. Random House, 2003.

---, *The War That Ended Peace: The Road to 1914*. Penguin, 2013.

Maharidge, Dale and Michael Williamson. *And Their Children After Them: The Legacy of 'Let Us Now Praise Famous Men': James Agee, Walker Evans, and the Rise and Fall of Cotton in the South*. Pantheon Books, 1989.

Marcus, Jane. "Reappraisal of 'The Years.'" *Bulletin of the New York Public Library*, vol. 80, no. 2, 1977, pp. 137-138.

Marquis, Alice Goldfarb. *Hopes and Ashes: The Birth of Modern Times, 1929-1939*.

Free Press, 1986.

Marriott, John. "The Imaginative Geography of the Whitechapel Murders." *Jack the Ripper and the East End*. Edited by Alex Werner, Chatto & Windus, 2008, pp. 31-63.

Mayer, Henry. "Famous Men." *Bookend: The New York Times On The Web*. www.nytimes.combooks/00/05/14/bookend/ bookend.html?mcubz=0

Mellow, James R. *Walker Evans*. Basic Books, 1999.

Mendelson, Edward. *Early Auden*. Farrar, Straus and Giroux. 1981.

Mendelson, Edward. Introduction. *W. H. Auden: Selected Poems Expanded Edition*. Edited by Edward Mendelson. Vintage 2007, pp. xv-xxx.

---, *The English Auden: Poems, Essays and Dramatic Writings 1927-1939*. Faber and Faber, 1977.

Middlebrook, Diane Wood and Marilyn Yalom, editors. *Coming To Light: American Women Poets in the Twentieth Century*. U of Michigan P, 1985.

Mill, John. *A Critical History of Economics*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2002.

Miller, Christianne. *Cultures of Modernism: Marianne Moore, Mina Loy, Else Lasker-Schüler*. U of Michigan P, 2005.

Mirzoeff, Nicholas. "The Right to Look." *Critical Inquiry*, vol. 37, no. 3, Spring 2011, pp. 473-496

Mitchell, Don. *Cultural Geography: A Critical Introduction*. Blackwell, 2000.

Moore, Jack B. "The Voice in *12 Million Black Voices*." *Mississippi Quarterly*, vol. XLII, no. 4, 1989, pp. 415-24.

Morrison, Toni. *Playing in the Dark: Whiteness and the Literary Imagination*. Vintage, 1993.

Nagel, James. "Images of 'Vision' in *Native Son* (1969). Rpt. in Hakutani, *Critical Essays on Richard Wright*, pp. 151-58.

Newhall, Beaumont. *The History of Photography, from 1839 to the Present Day*. Revised and enlarged edition. 1937. Museum of Modern Art, 1964.

Nicholl, David. "The Greenwich Mystery." Repr. in Sherry, *Conrad's Western World*, pp. 379-394.

O'Brien, Joseph V. *"Dear Dirty Dublin": A City in Distress*, *1899-1916*. U of California P, 1982.

Orr, Leonard and Ted Billy, eds. *A Joseph Conrad Companion.* Greenwood Press, 1999.

Painter, Nell Irvin. *Creating Black Americans: African-American History and Its Meanings, 1619 to the Present*. Oxford UP, 2007.

Parmar, Sandeep. "Not an Apology: Mina Loy's Geniuses." The Wolf, no. 17, Spring 2008, pp. 77-86.

Peake, C. H. *James Joyce: The Citizen and the Artist*. Stanford UP, 1977.

Pellew, Jill. "Communication: The Home Office and the Aliens Act, 1905." *The Historical Journal*, vol. 32, no. 2, 1989, pp. 369-385.

Perloff, Marjorie. "English as a 'Second' Language: Mina Loy's 'Anglo-Mongrels and the Rose.'" Shreiber and Tuma, pp. 131-148.

---, "The Mina Loy Mysteries: Legend and Language." *American Book Review*, vol. 18, no. 1, 1996, pp. 16-17, 26.

---, *Poetry On and Off The Page: Essays for Emergent Occasions*. Northwestern UP, 1998.

Perry, Seamus. "Auden's Forms." *W. H. Auden In Context*. Edited by Tony Sharpe. Cambridge UP, 2013, pp. 369-380.

Posner, Richard. *Law and Literature: A Misunderstood Relation*. Harvard UP, 1988.

Posnock, Ross. *The Trial of Curiosity: Henry James, William James and the Challenge of Modernity*. Oxford UP, 1991.

Potter, Rachel, ed. *Modernism and Democracy: Literary Culture 1900-1930*. Oxford UP, 2006.

Potter, Rachel. "Obscene Modernism and The Wondering Jew: Mina Loy's 'Anglo-Mongrels and the Rose.'" Potter and Hobson, pp. 47-70.

---, "Worldly Exiles: Mina Loy's 'Anglo-Mongrels and the Rose.'" *Jewish Women Writers in Britain*. Edited by Nadia Valman. Wayne State UP, 2014, pp. 66-80.

Potter, Rachel and Suzanne Hobson, eds. Introduction. *The Salt Companion to Mina Loy*, 2010, pp. 1-11.

Pound, Ezra. "A List of Books." *Little Review*. March 1918. Rpt. in Cookson, pp. 424-425. *Ezra Pound Selected Prose 1909-1965*. Edited by William Cookson. New Directions, 1973.

---, *The Selected Letters of Ezra Pound 1907-1941*. 1950. Edited by D. D. Paige. New Directions, 1971.

Quail, John. *The Slow Burning Fuse*. Paladin, 1978.

Rabinow, Paul, ed. Introduction. *The Foucault Reader*. Edited by Paul Rabinow. Vintage Books, 2010, pp. 3-29.

Radin, Grace. *Virginia Woolf's 'The Years': The Evolution of a Novel*. U of Tennessee P, 1981.

Rampersad, Arnold, ed. *A Collection of Critical Essays*. Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1995.

---, Arnold. Introduction. *Richard Wright: A Collection of Critical Essays*. pp. 1-11.

---, Introduction. Wright, *Native Son* (1940) pp. ix-xxii.

Rancière, Jacques. *Aisthesis: Scenes from the Aesthetic Regime of Art*. Translated by Zakir Paul. Verso, 2013.

Rathbone, Belinda. *Walker Evans: A Biography*. Houghton Mifflin Company, 1995.

Reardon, Patrick T. "Poverty Books—1936—*Let Us Now Praise Famous Men* by James Agee with Photos by Walker Evans." *Chicago Tribune: The Blog*. 9 December 2011. www.patricktreardon.com/book-review-poverty-books-1936-let-us-now-praise-famous-men-by-james-agee-with-photos-by-walker-evans/

Renan, Ernest. "What is a Nation?" 1996. *Becoming National: A Reader*. Edited by Geoff Eley, et al. Oxford UP, 1996, pp. 41-55.

Rivkin, Julie. "The Logic of Delegation in The Ambassadors." *PMLA*, vol. 101, no. 5 October 1986, pp. 819-831.

Rodway, Allan. *A Preface to Auden*. Longman Group, 1984.

Rose, Sonya O. *Which People's War? National Identity and Citizenship in Wartime Britain 1939-1945*. Oxford UP, 2003.

Roosevelt, Franklin D. "Address at Barnesville, Georgia." 11 August 1938. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, The American Presidency Project. http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=15520.

---, *The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt*. Edited by Samuel I. Rosenman. Random House, 1941.

Rosskam, Edwin. *Washington Nerve Center*. Edited by Ruby Black. Alliance Book Corporation, Longmans, Green and Co., 1939.

Rousseau, Jean-Jacques. *On The Social Contract: or Principles of Political Right*. 1762. Translated by G. D. H. Cole. J. M. Dent, 1913. www.ucc.ie/archive/hdsp/Rousseau_contract-social.pdf.

Rushdie, Salman. *Imaginary Homelands: Essays and Criticism 1981-1991*. Granta Books, 1992.

Rutherford, Jonathan, ed. *Identity, Community, Culture, Difference*. Lawrence & Wishart, 1990.

---, "The Third Space: Interview with Homi Bhabha." *Identity, Community, Culture, Difference.* Edited by Jonathan Rutherford. Lawrence & Wishart, 1990, pp. 207-221.

Said, Edward. *Orientalism*. Vintage, 1979.

Schachar, Ayelet. *The Birthright Lottery: Citizenship and Global Inequality*. Harvard UP, 2009.

Schloss, Dietmar. *Culture and Criticism in Henry James*. Narr, 1992.

Sedgwick, Eve Kosofsky. *Epistemology of the Closet*. U of California P, 1990, p.185.

Seltzer, Mark. *Henry James and the Art of Power*. Cornell UP, 1984.

Shklar, Judith. *American Citizenship: The Quest for Inclusion*. Harvard UP, 1991.

Sharpe, Tony. *W. H. Auden*. Routledge, 2007.

Sharpe, Tony, ed. Introduction. *W. H. Auden In Context*. Cambridge UP, 2013. pp. 1-12.

Sherry, Norman. *Conrad's Western World*. Cambridge UP, 1971.

Sherry, Norman, ed. *Conrad, The Critical Heritage*. Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1973.

Sibley, N.W. and Alfred Elias. *The Aliens Act and the Right of Asylum*. William Clowes, 1906. www.archive.org/details/aliensactstat5ed00siblrich.

Shreiber, Maeera and Keith Tuma, eds. *Mina Loy Woman and Poet*. National Poetry Foundation, U of Maine P, 1998.

Shpayer-Makov, Haia. "Anarchism in British Public Opinion 1880-1914." *Victorian Studies*, vol. 31, no. 4, Summer 1998, pp. 487-516.

Smith, Stan, ed. *The Cambridge Companion to W. H. Auden*. Cambridge UP, 2004.

---, *W. H. Auden*. Basil Blackwell Ltd., 1985.

Snaith, Anna. Introduction. Woolf, *The Years*, pp. xxxix-xcix.

Spalding, Frances. *Virginia Woolf: Art, Life and Vision*. National Portrait Gallery Publication, 2014.

Stallman, R. W. 'The Sacred Rage': The Time-Theme in The Ambassadors." *Modern Fiction Studies*, vol. 3, no. 1, 1957, pp. 41-56.

---, "Time and *The Secret Agent*." *The Art of Joseph Conrad: A Critical Symposium*. Edited by R. W. Stallman. Michigan State UP, 1960, pp. 234-254.

Stange, Maren. *Symbols of Ideal Life, Social Documentary Photography in America*, 1890-1950, Cambridge UP, 1989.

---, "'The Record Itself': Farm Security Administration Photography and the Transformation of Rural Life" in *Official Images: New Deal Photography*. Edited by Pete Daniel. Smithsonian Institution Press, 1987, pp. 1-5.

Stoker, Bram. *Dracula*. 1897. Edited by Roger Luckhurst. Oxford UP, 2011.

Stott, William. *Documentary Expression and Thirties America*. Oxford UP, 1973.

Tremaine. Louis. "The Dissociated Sensibility of Bigger Thomas in Wright's *Native Son*." Rampersad, *Richard Wright: A Collection of Critical Essays,* pp. 40-52.

Trilling, Lionel. "Greatness with One Fault in It." *The Kenyon Review*, vol. 4, no. 1, Winter, 1942, pp. 99-102.

Wainwright, Louden. *The Great American Magazine: An Inside History of Life*. Alfred A. Knopf, 1986.

Walther, Peter, Ed., Introduction. *New Deal Photography: USA 1935-1943*. Taschen, 2016, pp. 11-50.

Watt, Ian. *The Rise of the Novel: Studies in Defoe, Richardson and Fielding*. U of California P, 1957.

Watt, Ian, ed. *The Secret Agent*: *A Casebook*. Macmillan Press, 1973.

Werner, Craig. "Bigger's Blues: *Native Son* and the Articulation of Afro-American Modernism" in Kinnamon, pp. 117-152.

White, Arnold. *The Destitute Alien in Great Britain: A Series of Papers Dealing with the Subject of Foreign Pauper Immigration*. Swan Sonnenschein, 1892.

White, Eric Walter. *Stravinsky the Composer and his Works*. Original edition. U of California P, 1996.

Williams, Patricia J. *The Alchemy of Race and Rights*. Harvard UP, 1991.

Wilson, Sarah. "Americanness Becomes Modernism in James's 'The Ambassadors.'" *Studies in the Novel*, vol. 36. no. 4, Winter 2004, John Hopkins UP, pp. 509-532.

Winder, Robert. *Bloody Foreigners: The Story of Immigration to Britain*. Little Brown, 2004.

Wollaeger, Mark A. "*Reading* Ulysses: *Agency, Ideology, and the Novel*." Attridge, *James Joyce's Ulysses: A Casebook*. pp. 129-154.

Wood, Alice. *Virginia Woolf's Late Cultural Criticism: The Genesis of 'The Years', 'Three Guineas', and 'Between The Acts*'. Bloomsbury, 2013.

Woolf, Virginia. *Collected Essays*. Vol. 1. "Mr. Bennett and Mrs. Brown." Edited by Leonard Woolf. Hogarth Press, 4 vols. 1966-67. pp. 318-335.

---, *Collected Essays*. Vol. 2. "The Leaning Tower"; "A Letter to a Young Poet"; and "The Artist and Politics"; and "Professions For Women." The Hogarth Press, 1966, pp. 162-181, 182-195, 230-232, 284-489.

---, *The Diary of Virginia Woolf*. Edited by Anne Olivier Bell and Andrew McNeillie. Hogarth Press, 1975-1984. Harcourt Brace, 1977-1984. 5 vols.

---, *The Essays of Virginia Woolf*. Edited by Andrew McNeillie and Stuart N. Clarke. Hogarth Press, 1986-2011. 6 vols.

---, *The Letters of Virginia Woolf*. Edited by Nigel Nicholson and Joanne Trautmann. Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1975-80. 6 vols.

---, *The Pargiters: The Novel-Essay Portion of 'The Years'*. Edited by Mitchell A. Leaska. Hogarth Press, 1978.

---, *The Years*. 1937. Bradshaw. Edited by David and Ian Blyth. Wiley-Blackwell, 2012.

---, *Three Guineas*. 1938. Edited by Black Naomi. Blackwell Publishers, 2001.

Wright, Richard. *12 Million Black Voices: A History of the Negro in the United States*. 1941. Basic Books, 2008.

---, "How 'Bigger' Was Born." 1940. *Native Son*. Harper Perennial Modern Classics, 2005, pp. 431-462.

---, *Native Son* (1940). Harper Perennial Modern Classics, 2005.

---, *Native Son* (1940). Rpt. Harper and Row, 1966.

Wynter, Sylvia. *On Being Human As Praxis*. Duke UP, 2015.

Zimring, Rishona. "Conrad's Pornography Shop." *Modern Fiction Studies*, vol. 43, no. 2, 1997, pp. 319-348.

Pertinent Legislation, Conventions and Treaties

Déclaration des Droits de L'Homme et du Citoyen, 1789.

Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948.

United Kingdom:

Regulation of Aliens Act, 1793

Act of the Union, 1800

Explosive Substances Act, 1883

Elementary Education Act, 1870

The Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1885 (Labouchere Amendment, 1885)

Aliens Act, 1905.

British Nationality and Status of Aliens Act, 1914

Aliens Restrictions (Amendment) Act, 1914.

The Sex Disqualification (Removal) Act, 1919

Aliens Order, 1920

Defense of the Realm Acts, 1914-1915

Aliens Restriction (Amendment) Act, 1919

Aliens Order, 1920
Representation of the People (Equal Franchise) Act, 1928
British Nationality Act, 1948
The Sexual Offenses Act, 1967
The Sexual Offenses Act, 2003

Austria-Hungary:
The Compromise of 1867

Ireland:
Government of Ireland Bill, 1886. (defeated)
Government of Ireland Bill, 1893. (defeated)
The Parliament Act, 1914.
Restoration of Order in Ireland Act, 1920
Government of Ireland Act, 1920
Anglo-Irish Treaty, 1921

United States of America:
The United States Constitution (1787)
The United States Bill of Rights (1789)
The Emancipation Proclamation (1863)
Civil Rights Act (1866)
Fourteenth Amendment (Amendment XIV) to the United States Constitution (1868)
Fifteenth Amendment (Amendment XV) to the United States Constitution (1870)
Jim Crow Laws (Variously enacted in the southern States between 1876 and 1965)
The General Immigration Law 1903
The Naturalization Act of 1906
The Dillingham Report 1911
Aliens Restriction (Consolidation) Order 1914
The Immigration Act of 1917 (Passed February 5, 1917)
Nineteenth Amendment (Amendment XIX) to the United States Constitution
The United States Immigration Bill (Passed May 19, 1921)
The United States Immigration Bill (Passed May 11, 1922)
The United States Immigration Bill (Passed February 9, 1924)
Alien Registration Act 1940

Voting Rights Act of 1965

U.S. Supreme Court Cases:

Plessy *v*. Ferguson (1896)

Brown *v*. The Board of Education (1954)

Plyler *v*. Doe (1982)

Proquest Dissertations:

Nayak, Srila. "Citizens Everywhere: Modernism, Decolonization, and Discourses of Citizenship." Carnegie Mellon University, 2007. Ann Arbor: ProQuest. Web. 2 Dec. 2013.